

MAY, 1951

# SOCIAL ORDER

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## ... just a few things:

WHEN LEO XIII WROTE *Rerum Novarum* in 1891, *laissez faire* capitalism was the dominant economic policy of western Europe, and socialism was its most powerful opponent. Between these two great social protagonists, individualism and massism, social thinkers had been advocating a third approach. Recognizing that man is both an individual and a social being, they claimed that balance must be attained through a social order that would give scope to his individualist proclivities without stultifying his social instincts.

Because men suffered materially and spiritually as a result of a disordered economy, Leo spoke out boldly against the disorder. Forty years later, in commemoration of his great document, Pius XI published another social letter, *Quadragesimo Anno*, in which he reviewed Leo's teachings and the progress that had been made since 1891 before advancing further proposals of his own concerning the ideal structure of a humane society.

This month, on May 13, we commemorate the anniversaries of these two great documents. They are not economic treatises or formulations of economic policy; they are, rather, outlines of the moral and human principles which should guide men in developing policy. What they have taught by way of criticism has been largely accepted in the western world. Certainly in the United States, as Father Higgins, assistant director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, declares in his commemorative article in this issue of SOCIAL ORDER, neither rugged individualism nor massism is a reputable socioeconomic policy today.

Father Higgins further believes that considerable progress has been made toward acceptance of the positive recommendations of these documents and development of the social institutions needed for a humane social order, a *civitas humana*. He would, I am sure, be the last to say that the work, to which he has made distinguished contributions, is near completion. Much remains to be done in the realm of ideas, of institutional reform and development and, above all, in the realm of moral reform. To that work on the anniversary of two great social documents, SOCIAL ORDER rededicates itself.

A FEW WEEKS AGO, in an address before the Senate, Mr. J. William Fulbright, chairman of the sub-committee investigating the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, deplored the marked decline in morality manifest in all phases of American life and called for a vigorous revival.

"... I am unwilling to accept the view," he stated, "that nothing can be done, that the moral deterioration, which is so evident to all, must continue to its logical conclusion, which is the destruction of our free democratic system."

The Senator proposed that a Commission be established to consider the problem of ethical standards of conduct in public affairs. It would evaluate the findings of various groups about the moral state of the country and formulate principles which "would strengthen the faith of all decent men in our democratic society."

In an article in this issue of SOCIAL ORDER, Father John L. Thomas points

to a more imperative need. With the cooperation of several hundred first-grade teachers he has investigated the amount of moral and religious training with which Catholic children begin their formal education. Convinced that such training must begin early in the life of a child and that the school can never replace the home as a formative influence, he undertook to learn how well one large group of parents was meeting its responsibility.

First-grade teachers checked their charges' knowledge of five relatively simple prayers and five basic Christian truths. There may be some reason to suspect that the results understate children's actual knowledge (inattention or shyness may have occasioned negative responses from some children who had actually received religious training in the home). On the other hand, however, the proportion of children receiving no home formation in religion would probably be much higher if those attending public schools had been included.

There is no need to emphasize the significance of this study and the seriousness of its results. It may be worth saying that this is the first study of its kind dealing with Catholic children.

FOR THE PAST three years SOCIAL ORDER has been following the momentous changes that have been taking place throughout Europe in labor-management relations. Father Brown, director of I.S.O., sums up these developments in an article which is a prelude to another that will follow soon. In the second article he will discuss a tremendously significant emphasis that has manifested itself in papal statements of recent years.

American interest in this whole movement is increasing, and SOCIAL ORDER hopes to be able to keep its read-

ers informed of new developments as they appear.

EARLY IN 1950 THERE appeared in Verona a little book by Professor Alfredo Aiello, entitled, *La "Terza Via" nella Teorie di Menegazzi, Keynes, Beveridge e Röpke*. Two things are noteworthy about that title and the book. Röpke is definitely an exponent of a third way, opposed to the dual extremes of collectivism and *laissez faire* capitalism. At the same time he finds himself in strange company, linked with men whose theories resemble his own only in their opposition to the same two extremes.

Many have welcomed Röpke's incisive criticism of both collectivism and individualistic capitalism. He is vigorously opposed to every form of coercion upon individuals and the entire economy; he believes in competition, a competition which is just and fair. Above all, he seeks a humane socio-economic order which will gradually effect the deproletarianization of workers. But they are uncertain about his positive proposals.

Father Kennedy, who is professor of ethics at West Baden College, West Baden Springs, Ind., in reviewing Röpke's most recent work, *Civitas Humana*, finds in it much that he likes, notably in its evaluation of the two opposing economic systems. He finds reason, too, for apprehension lest the United States hurry along the road of statist collectivism. Whether Röpke's "third way" is the form best suited to industrial America, he is not so sure, but he believes that *Civitas Humana* (and, may I add, *The Social Crisis of Our Times*, which is briefly noticed in "Books") "will be useful to those who are disturbed by the trend of events or are unwilling to accept the current 'social consciousness' uncritically."

F. J. C., S.J.  
SOCIAL ORDER



An assistant director of the Social Action Department, NCWC, commemorates two great anniversaries by recalling the social progress of the past 60 years.

# AFTER SIXTY YEARS

## *The Teaching and Triumph of Leo XIII and Pius XI*

George G. Higgins  
Washington, D. C.

### I INTRODUCTION

"IT IS difficult for us to comprehend," says Professor Girvetz of the University of California, "the hostility with which the Middle Ages regarded the pursuit of gain."<sup>1</sup> It is equally difficult, however, to comprehend how completely this "hostility" to "the pursuit of gain" had been dissipated by the time of *Rerum Novarum*. The profit motive, to be sure, was present in the hearts of medieval men and women and to some extent at least was licensed by the social institutions of the times. Nevertheless, while it may be "proper to insist on the prevalence of avarice and greed in high places," as Professor Tawney remarks with reference to the Middle Ages, "it is not less important to observe that men called these vices by their right names, and had not learned to persuade themselves that greed was enterprise and avarice, economy."<sup>2</sup>

By May 15, 1891, however, Christians had been calling these "vices" by wrong

names for centuries and might be said to have come almost as close to sinning against the Holy Ghost as the Communists have done in more recent and more tragic decades. Even the best of Catholics, let us honestly confess, have been tortuously slow to understand that the economic "morality" of the centuries that made *Rerum Novarum* (and *The Communist Manifesto*?) inevitable was not only unnatural but sacrilegious as well, to the extent that economic selfishness was rationalized and honored for a virtue, as have been divorce and birth control in our days.

### *Rerum Novarum* Unheeded

The failure of the Christian world to respond appropriately to *Rerum Novarum* (a *felix culpa* in that it elicited *Quadragesimo Anno* and thus advanced Christian social teaching) was a failure of the intellect as well as of the will. For many generations many Christians, even when they were acting in the marketplace honestly and in all sincerity, were unmindful of the fact that they were living in the presence of the devil, who is happy, of course, when the children of men do the right thing for the wrong reason, but even happier, we may presume, when they do the wrong thing

<sup>1</sup> Harry K. Girvetz, *From Wealth to Welfare*, Stanford University Press, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, p. 61.

and persuade themselves that they are being virtuous.

Imperfectly as our own generation has responded to the social teachings of the Church, it is almost impossible for us to imagine how completely the philosophy of economic liberalism (which made social virtues out of private vices) had permeated the culture of the 19th century. This is merely another way of saying that it is almost impossible for the present generation of Americans to appreciate how revolutionary *Rerum Novarum* must have seemed, even to the best of Catholics, at the end of the 19th century. Pius XI was not exaggerating when he said that *Rerum Novarum* had "boldly attacked and overturned the idols of Liberalism, ignored long-standing prejudices, and was in advance of its time beyond all expectations."<sup>3</sup>

### Reform Lies Ahead

*Quadragesimo Anno* was equally revolutionary in its implications and equally in advance of its time, as we now realize more clearly than we did in 1931. *Rerum Novarum*, if we may say so respectfully and at the conscious risk of being misunderstood, was important principally as the precursor of *Quadragesimo Anno*. The "idols of Liberalism" had to be overturned before the more positive and more fully developed program of "reconstructing social order" and "perfecting it in conformity with the law of the Gospel"<sup>4</sup> could be successfully launched. How successfully, is another matter, which can be intelligently considered only after we have re-evaluated the two encyclicals, however cursorily, in the light of the economic history of the past 60 years.

<sup>3</sup> Pope Pius XI, *On Reconstructing the Social Order*, an English translation of *Quadragesimo Anno* authorized by the Holy See, National Catholic Welfare Conference, n. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem.*, from the Introduction to the encyclical.

## II

Leo XIII, as Pius XI was to remind us in *Quadragesimo Anno*, "sought no help [in *Rerum Novarum*] from either Liberalism or Socialism, for the one had proved that it was utterly unable to solve the social problem aright, and the other, proposing a remedy far worse than the evil itself, would have plunged human society into greater dangers."<sup>5</sup> Forty years later these two contradictory, but complementary, extremes had been modified, of course, in certain respects—sometimes for better, sometimes for worse—but they had not yet been exorcised from the body politic. Thus it became the unpleasant duty of Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno*—a duty rendered all the more distasteful, as he tells us, because of the apathy and even the hostility of many of the elect—to re-emphasize the negative as well as to elaborate upon the more positive aspects of *Rerum Novarum*.<sup>6</sup>

In commemorating the joint anniversary of these two encyclicals, which "history will undoubtedly record" as being "among the most important moral pronouncements of recent centuries,"<sup>7</sup> perhaps we may safely risk the danger of oversimplification by suggesting that the negative side of their teaching is now at least negatively accepted in the United States. Not completely, to be sure, but to this extent at least, that whereas it was respectable in 1891, and to a lesser degree perhaps in 1931, to advocate the philosophy of *laissez faire* more or less in the raw, as it were; it is *de rigueur* in 1951.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 10.

<sup>6</sup> For a brief summary of the "new" features of *Quadragesimo Anno*, see: John A. Ryan, *Social Doctrine in Action*, Harper & Brothers, pp. 242-246.

<sup>7</sup> From an official statement entitled, *Encyclical Anniversary*, issued on February 21, 1951, by the Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle, Episcopal Chairman of the Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

## "Liberalism" Not Dead

It is not to be inferred from this, of course, that the "liberalism" whose "idols" Leo XIII "boldly attacked" in 1891 is now altogether extinct in the United States. Norman Thomas is probably correct in suggesting that "The Second World War gave the final death blow to the capitalism of Adam Smith . . .,"<sup>8</sup> but presumably there are those amongst us who still have hopes of resuscitating it in one form or another, at least as a respectable philosophy of economic life. "If an army of mere soldiers," says Professor Girvetz, "can find more than one route to Berlin and Seoul, an army of theorists and politicians should be able to find more than one route to Manchester."<sup>9</sup> Indeed the reconnaissance troops are already in action, he suggests, and there is a certain amount of cheering from the civilian sidelines. The popularity among laymen, he says, "of works by such stalwart friends of the free market as Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich A. Hayek, Walter Lippmann, (sic!) Henry Simons, John Jewkes, and Lionel Robbins suggests . . ." that if *laissez faire* is "a skeleton, it is by no means in the closet."<sup>10</sup>

Be that as it may—and Girvetz, it probably ought to be added, is rather inclined to stretch the definition of *laissez faire* to include almost any kind of opposition to the "welfare state"—*laissez faire*, either as a theory or a fact, is no longer the central issue that it was in

1891 and for 40-odd years thereafter. For all practical purposes, its plausibility as a workable and/or ethical philosophy of economic life has been irremediably damaged.

## Socialism Weakened

The same generalization, *mutatis mutandis*, may be hazarded with respect to Socialism, so far as the United States is concerned. Socialism hasn't died in the United States, if only for the reason that it was never born. Those who claim to have found it lurking in the purlieus of official Washington or in the council chambers of the national CIO are not always taken as seriously as they think they are, even by their own intimate associates. Significantly enough, they are prophets without honor even in the otherwise hospitable pages of *Fortune*. "Never have left-wing ideologies had so little influence on the American labor movement as they have today," the editors of *Fortune* have concluded very recently. "The Communists still control a small but strategic sector of American labor," they are willing to admit, "and have scattered but dangerous beachheads elsewhere, notably in the Ford local of the automobile workers. But in glaring contrast to twenty or even to ten years ago, the Communists stay in control only by claiming to be 'bona fide unionists'; the mask is dropped only in the closed conventicles of the faithful."

They continue:

David Dubinsky pointed out last May that the old radical, socialist, and idealist movements which formerly were the source of union leaders have been drying up. There are no Wobblies today, no Jewish Bund, no Italian anarchists, no Debs, no Mother Jones. If there is any ideological influence in American labor today it is Catholic union theory—spread by a growing number of labor priests and Catholic labor schools and of considerable importance in several C.I.O. unions as well as in the building trades of the A.F. of L.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> "The U. S. Labor Movement," *Fortune*, 21 (1951) 93.

<sup>8</sup> Norman Thomas, *A Socialist's Faith*, Norton, p. 159.

<sup>9</sup> Harry K. Girvetz, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>10</sup> *Idem.*, p. 121. See also, in this connection, a review by Father Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., of *The Key to Peace* by Clarence Manion (*America*, 84 [March 24, 1951], 728): "... Dean Manion grafts on to his theory a doctrine of extreme individualism . . . which, almost as expressed in the terms of this book, was roundly condemned by Pius XI."

Neither *laissez faire* nor Socialism, therefore, is the problem of the moment, so far as the United States is concerned. As we have already indicated, we can reasonably conclude on the sixtieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum* and the twentieth of *Quadragesimo Anno*—as we could not have concluded in 1931, for example—that, for all practical purposes, public worship of the “idols of Liberalism” in the United States is a thing of the past (however much they may be honored between the covers of learned books), and we can be grateful, indeed, that they have not yet been replaced by the equally meretricious idols of Socialism.<sup>12</sup>

### III

If we have made such significant progress in the United States since, and to a large extent because of, *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*; if we have escaped or are on the verge of escaping from the deadly thralldom of economic liberalism in its more unmitigated forms; and if in the process we have also managed to resist the blandishments of Socialism; we have every reason to be grateful, but by the same token we have no reason at all to lapse into complacency.

Most of our advances, it would probably be fair to say, have been preparatory in nature. We have turned our backs willy-nilly on the 19th century,

but it remains to be seen which way we shall finally decide to go in the second half of the 20th. Our last state could conceivably be worse than our first if we were to rest on our laurels and permit the superficial prosperity of a defense economy to distract our attention from the unfinished business of the encyclicals, which is the establishment of the social order. We do not have a “social order” in the encyclical sense of the word. We have a mixed and rather highly collectivized economy without any clearly established principle of unity and authority.

“*Laissez-faire* economics,” says Norman Thomas, “has yielded supremacy even in America to a high degree of confused collectivism. . . ,”<sup>13</sup> not because “socialists” or government “bureaucrats” have planned it that way, we hasten to add, but basically because economic liberalism inevitably and “of its own nature” results in “the concentration of power and might, the characteristic mark, as it were, of contemporary economic life. . . .”<sup>14</sup>

### Seek Private Regulation

This “confused collectivism” obviously will not remain “confused” indefinitely. It will either be reorganized around the principles of *Quadragesimo Anno* or, for better or for worse, it will be disciplined and ordered by the machinery of the State. This is the American dilemma, therefore, as of 1951: how to establish effective social controls over a predominantly private but already highly collectivized economy

<sup>12</sup> For an effective antidote to the prevalent fashion of equating the so-called “welfare state” with Socialism, see: Douglas Jerrold, *England: Past, Present, and Future*, Dent, p. 297. Mr. Jerrold, a distinguished Catholic and a member of the Conservative Party in Great Britain, insists rather indignantly that the “welfare state” owes its origin to the Conservative Party and that those who confuse it with Socialism are either ignorant or malicious. His opinion on this matter is probably a commonplace in England, but it may come as something of a surprise to many Americans.

<sup>13</sup> Norman Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 159. See also in this connection: Henry Pratt Fairchild, *The Prodigal Century*, Philosophical Library, p. 210: “What has happened . . . is that varying degrees of coordinated administration have actually sprung up in the economic field but on the basis of private enterprise, and without the full participation of all members of society.”

<sup>14</sup> Pope Pius XI, *op. cit.*, n. 107.

without becoming totalitarian in the process.

Jacques Maritain has formulated the terms of this inescapable dilemma as follows:

The point which needs emphasis is this. For democracies today the most urgent endeavor is to develop social justice and improve world economic management, and to defend themselves against totalitarian threats from the outside and totalitarian expansion in the world; but the pursuit of these objectives will inevitably involve the risk of having too many functions of social life controlled by the State from above, and we shall be inevitably bound to accept this risk, as long as our notion of the State has not been restated on true and genuine democratic foundations, and as long as the body politic has not renewed its own structures and consciousness, so that the people become more effectively equipped for the exercise of freedom, and the State may be made an actual instrument for the common good of all. Then only will that very topmost agency, which is made by modern civilization more and more necessary to the human person in his political, social, moral, even intellectual and scientific progress, cease to be at the same time a threat to the freedoms of the human person as well as of intelligence and science . . .<sup>15</sup>

Maritain is a realist, unlike the typical American conservative who is rightly afraid of too much government, but is unable or unwilling to face up to the central fact of modern economic life, namely that big government, normally speaking, is the more or less direct and inevitable consequence of economic liberalism—the result, in other words, of what Maritain refers to in the same context as “the deficiencies of a society whose basic structures are not sufficiently up to the mark with regard to justice.”<sup>16</sup> Those “deficiencies,” he says, “are the first cause of the trouble. And thus any theoretical objections or particular claims, even justified in their

own particular spheres, will inevitably be considered as but minor things in the face of the vital necessity—not only factual but moral—of meeting the long-neglected wants and rights of the human person in the deepest and largest strata of the human society.”<sup>17</sup>

### Check Statist Drift

It goes without saying that Maritain is not a defeatist. He does not say that statism is inevitable. He merely says that the possibility of drifting into statism is a necessary risk—to the extent that we fail to remedy those “deficiencies,” the principal one being the absence of autonomous organs of the social economy capable of assuming many of the responsibilities which now more or less inevitably devolve upon the “state machinery.” He looks forward—and this brings us back, however circuitously, to *Quadragesimo Anno*—to a pluralist society in which “all forms of social and economic activity, even the largest and most comprehensive ones, would start from the bottom, I mean from the free initiative of and mutual tension between the particular groups . . . rising in tiers and institutionally recognized.”

He continues:

Then a definitely personalist and pluralist pattern of social life would come into effect in which new societal types of private ownership and enterprise would develop. And the State would leave to the multifarious organs of the social body the autonomous initiative and management of all the activities which by nature pertain to them. Its only prerogative in this respect would be its genuine prerogative as topmost umpire and supervisor, regulating these spontaneous and autonomous activities from the superior political point of view of the common good.<sup>18</sup>

At the present time a large measure of initiative and management on the part of the “state machinery” is necessary and desirable, not only factually

<sup>15</sup> Jacques Maritain, *Man and the State*, University of Chicago Press, pp. 18-19.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Idem.*, p. 23.



but morally, as Maritain puts it; but "in order both to maintain and make fruitful the movement for social improvement supported by the State, and to bring the State back to its true nature," he says "it is necessary that many functions now exercised by the State should be distributed among the various autonomous organs of a pluralistically structured body politic—either after a period of State capitalism or of State socialism, or, as is to be hoped, in the very process of the present evolution. . . ."<sup>19</sup>

### Blocks to Social Order

Maritain's proposal—which is merely a paraphrase in more philosophical terminology of the middle pages of *Quadragesimo Anno*—is commonly referred to in the United States, for lack of a better word, as the Industry Council program. It remains to be seen whether the ICP will be brought into being in the United States "in the very process of the present evolution"—a consummation devoutly to be wished—or only "after a period of State capitalism or of State socialism." Time alone will tell. Meanwhile, however, it will perhaps be appropriate to hazard a sample listing of the obstacles to be reckoned with, together with a few of the more encouraging signs of progress.

The principal obstacle, it could be argued tentatively, is a certain unwillingness on the part of all of us, whether so-called "progressives" or "conservatives," to say goodbye forever to the underlying principles of the old economy. We have long since abandoned *laissez faire*, Dr. Girvetz' reservations to the contrary notwithstanding, but even so-called "liberal" economists—Keynsians, for example, as Norman Thomas very appropriately reminds us—are committed to the "possibility of an adequate control of our economy with-

out bothering much with . . . a philosophy of cooperation."<sup>20</sup> The philosophy of free competition—modified, to be sure, by the impact of both fact and theory—is lodged in our emotional blood stream and breaks out into goose pimples, as it were, whenever we seriously face up to all the implications of the Industry Council program. "But competition," Mr. Thomas continues, echoing *Quadragesimo Anno* almost verbatim, "can never be the dominant principle for the organization of an economy directed to the conquest of poverty. That requires the ethical and practical sovereignty of the principle of cooperation."<sup>21</sup>

According to Thomas, as you might expect, the principle of cooperation can be institutionalized only in the form of public ownership. According to *Quadragesimo Anno*, on the other hand, it can best be institutionalized—allowing for a certain amount of public ownership, of course, when necessity demands it—in the form of the Industry Council program. How many modern economists—left, right, or center—actually accept this central and all-important conclusion of the encyclical in all its implications? How many of them "feel it in their bones" that the Industry Council program is a social and ethical imperative? We ask the question not to answer it definitely, but merely to suggest that, while *laissez faire*, as we have previously indicated, had gone with the wind of wars and depressions and has been hastened on its way to oblivion by the two encyclicals, we are still hoping somehow or other to have our cake and eat it too.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Norman Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

<sup>21</sup> *Idem.*, p. 193.

<sup>22</sup> Even Wilhelm Röpke, the distinguished German-Swiss economist, whose writings have been very hospitably received in American Catholic circles, gags at the mere mention of anything resembling the Industry Council program and, in the

<sup>19</sup> *Idem.*, p. 27.

## The Easy Way

A second obstacle—superficially different from the first, but a blood relative—is the natural tendency on the part of almost all of us, including many so-called conservatives, to follow the path of least resistance and run to the government too soon for the solution of those economic problems which are the inevitable by-products of our present disorganized and “confused” collectivism. This is not to say—quite the contrary, as a matter of fact—that government intervention is either unnecessary or undesirable. It is merely to suggest, as Maritain has stated so incisively, that even “in the very process of the present evolution” it is necessary “that many functions now exercised by the State should be distributed among the various autonomous organs of a pluralistically structured body politic. . . .”

The same point is made even more specifically and more directly in the 1950 Labor Day Statement of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference:

The State is the supreme authority in the temporal order, and precisely for this reason, as Pius XI reminds us, it ought “to let subordinate groups handle matters and concerns of lesser importance which would otherwise dissipate its efforts greatly.” This does not mean that the government should in any way shirk its great responsibilities in the field of social legislation, but it does

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opinion of the present writer, rather patronizingly insists on identifying *Quadragesimo Anno* with his own particular version of neo-classical economics. Röpke, in this respect, is a perfect example, if you will, of a man who admittedly rejects the philosophy of *laissez faire* but at the same time holds to the “possibility of an adequate control of our economy,” as Norman Thomas remarks about Keynes, who is an economist of another color, “without bothering much with . . . a philosophy of co-operation.”

mean that the government should consciously encourage unions and trade associations to cooperate with one another for the solution of as many of their own problems as possible. It also means that even when legislation is necessary to promote the general economic and social welfare or to protect the legitimate interests of individuals or groups, the government should utilize the experience of these organizations instead of relying exclusively on independent technical experts for the content and administration of legislative programs.<sup>23</sup>

“The dangerous international situation, which may continue evil and threatening during our whole generation,” says the NCWC Labor Day Statement, “makes extensive governmental action inevitable. For that reason, it is all the more necessary for efficiency’s sake, for the sake of justice, for freedom’s sake and for the sake of the brotherhood of people, to establish full cooperation of government—international, federal, state and local—with private organizations. Otherwise we may become ourselves totalitarian in opposing totalitarianism.”<sup>24</sup>

## Signs of Progress

But if there are “obstacles” to the gradual, grass-roots development of the ICP in the United States, there are also certain encouraging signs of progress or potential progress. The very fact that we already have a large measure of “confused collectivism” is potentially a source of strength as well as a signal of danger. It is potentially a source of strength in that the constituent elements of an organized “social order” are already present in the economy to a greater extent perhaps than we are generally accustomed to realize. The American mythology says that ours is a competitive and more or less unorganized economy, but the fact of the

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<sup>23</sup> *Labor Day Statement*, 1950, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*



matter is that the American economic system is already highly organized. The *materia prima* of a "social order," as the term is understood in *Quadragesimo Anno*, is already partly in existence and is waiting uncertainly to be "informed," as it were, gradually and from within its own structure, by a principle of unity and social authority founded on the natural law—or more suddenly and from without by the heavy hand of statism.

As evidence of the degree to which we are already organized—sometimes for good purposes, sometimes for bad—we may refer in passing to a recent publication of the U. S. Department of Commerce, *National Trade Associations of the United States*, an enormous directory giving detailed information about approximately 4,000 trade, professional, civic, labor, religious and other organizations, the majority of which are national in scope. Indispensable as a convenient reference book for the busy executive, it also serves a very useful purpose, as we have indicated, for all those who are interested in the reconstruction of the social order along the lines of the ICP.

### **Organization Well Advanced**

One of the more common objections to the Industry Council program can be summarized as follows: The Industry Council program presupposes that employers and workers are already highly organized into their own voluntary associations. But, while workers are partially organized at the present time, employers are unorganized and wish to remain unorganized. Therefore the Industry Council program, however desirable in theory, is impractical as far as the United States is concerned, at least for the foreseeable future.

This objection fails to take into account the information contained in the new directory of the Department of Commerce. Actually, American busi-

nessmen are very highly organized, much more so, as a matter of fact, than workers. Economists have known this for a long time, but even they will probably be surprised at the sheer quantity of statistical evidence provided in the new directory.

### **Vast Number of Groups**

Fifteen-hundred national trade associations and an additional 300 associations made up predominantly of businessmen are listed. We are told that the 1,500 trade associations have a paid staff of 16,000 persons and a gross membership of over 1,000,000 business firms. Including locals and branches, it is estimated by the editors of the directory that there are 12,000 trade associations and 4,000 Chambers of Commerce, to say nothing of 15,000 civic service groups, luncheon clubs and similar organizations of business and professional men and women.

These figures, it seems to us, are extremely encouraging. They indicate that Americans are really not as individualistic as they sometimes pretend to be. Most important of all, they indicate that the groundwork for the Industry Council plan is already fairly well established. Neither labor nor management is completely organized, of course, but both are certainly well enough organized to warrant our giving serious thought to the establishment of the Industry Council program.

### **Must Revise Objectives**

The organization of the unorganized, particularly of unorganized workers, ought to continue to have a high priority on the agenda of social reconstruction. At the same time, however, we can be reasonably optimistic about the progress already made in this direction. Also, we can begin to concentrate on the all-important problem of persuading our existing organizations of labor and management to cooperate with one an-

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other on behalf of the common good instead of being preoccupied almost exclusively with their separate and more selfish interests.

The reader will remember that the Bishops of the United States called attention to this problem in 1948 in their annual statement, "The Christian in Action." They clearly recognized that economic individualism, which is so often said to be characteristic of the United States, is more of a myth than a fact. American economic individualism, they implied, has been transformed into "group individualism"—if we may use a rather contradictory phrase.

"Today we have labor partly organized," the Bishops tell us, "but chiefly for its own interests. We have capital or management organized, possibly on a larger scale, but again for its own interests. What we urgently need, in the Christian view of the social order, is the free organization of capital and labor in permanent agencies of cooperation for the common good."<sup>25</sup>

### Cooperation Next Step

The new directory of the Department of Commerce, as we already indicated, generously supports the Bishops' conclusion that our national economy, American mythology to the contrary notwithstanding, is already very highly organized.

The evidence, we repeat, is overwhelming—634 pages of names and addresses of national organizations, including 1,500 national trade associations and 200 national unions. Ten years from now, perhaps, the Department of Commerce will be able to publish another directory indicating that some of these trade associations and some of these unions, while preserving their own autonomy and their separate identity,

have come together in "permanent agencies of cooperation for the common good." Let us hope so. Let us hope and pray that more and more of our trade associations and unions will take to heart the words of Pope Pius XI in his encyclical, "On Reconstructing the Social Order":

"And may these free organizations [trade associations and unions among others,], now flourishing and rejoicing in their salutary fruits, set before themselves the task of preparing the way, in conformity with the mind of Christian social teaching, for those larger and more important guilds, Industries and Professions [Industry Councils], which We mentioned before, and make every possible effort to bring them to realization."<sup>26</sup>

### IV

### CONCLUSION

Like it or not (and surely, as Catholics, we ought to like it) the future calls insistently for what Maritain refers to as "new societal types of private ownership and enterprise"—"socialization" in the proper sense of the word. These new "societal types of private ownership and enterprise"—which will give "organic and institutional forms to that law of the 'common use' on which Thomas Aquinas has laid particular stress"<sup>27</sup>—will be developed voluntarily and cooperatively from within the system of private enterprise, properly organized into a democratic "social order," or they will be imposed more or less awkwardly, as a factual and ethical requirement of the times, by the machinery of the State. There does not seem to be a third alternative in practice, and certainly there is none in Christian social theory.

Whether or not the people of the

<sup>25</sup> *The Christian in Action*, a statement by the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1948.

<sup>26</sup> Pope Pius XI, *op. cit.*, n. 87.

<sup>27</sup> Jacques Maritain, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

United States will accept the first alternative in time to forestall the imposition of the second will depend in turn, as *Quadragesimo Anno* reminds us, on whether or not there is to be in our country "a renewal of the Christian spirit, from which so many immersed in economic life have, far and wide, unhappily fallen away . . ." and in the absence of which all our efforts at social reconstruction will "be wasted and our

house builded not on a rock but on shifting sand."<sup>28</sup> But this is a subject of another article, more important by far than the present cursory observations on the more "institutional" aspects of the two great encyclicals, the anniversary of which is to be commemorated on the fifteenth day of this, the Month of Mary, Queen of Apostles.

<sup>28</sup> Pope Pius XI, *op. cit.*, n. 127.

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### Quadragesimo Anno and Economic Order

Will the solution to this grave problem [the challenge to private enterprise by socialism] come from authoritarian statism . . . ? It will not. Will it come from a democratic socialism? Not thence either. Whence then . . . is the solution to be found?

It is to be found in corporative organization such as is extolled in *Quadragesimo Anno*. It is not the economist's place to praise that moral declaration . . . But he can extract from it an economic doctrine. For corporative thought does not call upon false theories. It does not rest upon supposed tendencies, which are not, in fact, verifiable. It takes account of all the facts of modern economy. And in supplying remedies to our actual state of disorganization, it delimits the function of private enterprise within a new order. Corporatism organizes men; it does not enslave them. It opposes any social system of centralist tendency and against all bureaucratic regimentation. It is, in fact, the only theory which will prevent the development of bureaucracy.

And yet there are excellent men with consciences open to the message of Pius XI who nevertheless see in it only a visionary ideal. But the Pope does not speak from an ivory tower. He indicated a practical method for solving practical problems of immediate urgency.

JOSEPH A. SCHUMPETER

*Father Thomas, whose major interest is in problems of the American family, submits a report he has recently completed with the help of 700 teachers.*

# RELIGION AND THE CHILD

## *Pre-School Religious Training of American Catholic Children*

John L. Thomas, S.J.  
I. S. O.

THERE is general agreement among students of the family that we are experiencing a gradual decline of religious practice in the home. The significance of this decline becomes apparent when we reflect that the family has always been the fundamental educational institution in religion.

Generally speaking, this decline of religious practice in the family is indicative of two trends in contemporary society. First, the role of religion in American culture seems to be decreasing. Second, many of the factors that have brought about the declining role of the family in other fields have operated with equal force in diminishing its religious function.<sup>1</sup>

Even a hasty perusal of the literature on the subject of religious practice in the American family will convince one that most assertions in this field are conjectural. Indeed, there are those who claim there is no way to find out the nature and extent of religious training that American parents now give their children.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is too early to estimate the overall effect of the recent revival of family prayer in the form of the family rosary, and so forth. At any rate, this revival seems to involve only Catholic families.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Robert Weaver, "Youth and Religion," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 236 (November, 1944) 152-160.

### Survey Made

A study of the declining religious function of the family conducted some time ago under the auspices of the 1930 White House Conference cast some light on the degree of family participation in four types of religious activity: church attendance, grace at meals, group Bible reading and prayers and devotions. Church attendance was the activity in which most families participated (85 per cent of the rural and 40 per cent of the urban families). Cooperative reading of the Bible was reported by 22 per cent of the rural and 10 per cent of the urban families. Approximately 38 per cent of the rural and 30 per cent of the urban families engaged regularly in family grace before meals.<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that this investigation was conducted some 20 years ago and applies only to non-Catholic families. However, it seems to be the only statistical basis for the general assertion that the family as a religious institution has declining importance, that this decline has been an urban rather than a rural phenomenon and a Protestant rather than a Catholic one.

The following study was undertaken with the hope of discovering how well

<sup>3</sup> Cf. William Ogburn and Clark Tibbitts, "The Family and Its Functions," in *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, New York, Whittlesey House, 1934, p. 674.

the modern American Catholic family is fulfilling its religious role. Our premise is that one of the most important functions of the family is to inculcate the insights and faith of the Christian religion in the rising generation. This function cannot be handed over to secondary societies such as the school or the church. At best, these institutions serve as auxiliaries to the family. Since we were interested in finding out what children were being taught about religion in their homes, we had to reach the Catholic child before he had received religious instruction in the parochial school. The method was as follows. The cooperation of various religious teaching orders was secured across the country. With the aid of the first-grade teachers, the pupils were tested for their knowledge of religion before they had received any instruction in the schools. Children who had attended a kindergarten conducted under Catholic auspices were not included in the study.

### Prayers and Truths

Information was sought in two areas. First, what prayers does the child learn in the home? Here were included five items: 1) Does the child know how to make the Sign of the Cross? 2) Can he recite the "Our Father"? 3) Can he recite the "Hail Mary"? 4) Does he know any prayer for grace at meals? 5) Does he know the prayer to the Guardian Angel? The second area explored was that of the understanding of religious dogma: 1) Does the child know anything about the story of the Creation? 2) Does he know anything about Adam and Eve? 3) Does he have any idea of the story of Christmas? 4) Does he know that Jesus (God) is present in the Tabernacle (Church)? 5) Does he know the story of the Crucifix? These particular items were chosen as the basis for the study only after consulting first-grade teachers of long experience. They maintained that

the five-year old child was capable and could be expected to do well in all these items. It should be noted from the start that stress is placed on no one item, but interest lies in the configuration or pattern of religious knowledge and practice presented by all the items taken together.

Returns were secured on 20,691 Catholic children from 33 different states. However, since a considerable number of schedules were incomplete or improperly filled out, the present study is based on returns from 16,101 children. The picture for the country as a whole is given in Table I.

TABLE I.—PERCENTAGE OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN RECEIVING RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE HOME, GENERAL AVERAGES.

Item	Percentage
Knowledge of Prayers	
Can make the Sign of the Cross.....	52.9
Can recite the "Our Father".....	23.2
Can recite the "Hail Mary".....	33.0
Knows prayer for grace at meals.....	14.1
Knows prayer to Guardian Angel .....	15.5
Understanding of Dogma	
Has some knowledge of Creation story.....	24.9
Has some knowledge of Adam and Eve.....	13.1
Has some idea of the Christmas story.....	34.2
Knows that Jesus is in Church.....	33.0
Knows the story of the Crucifix.....	30.6

These figures would seem to indicate that the average Catholic family looks to the parochial school to supply most of the religious instruction to its children. In only one item, that of the making of the Sign of the Cross, could more than one-third meet the minimal requirements of our study.

### Rural Areas More Religious

There is a rather generally accepted assumption that religious practice is stronger in the rural areas than in the cities. This assumption finds confirmation in our study, in which we have classified as rural all children living in a town of 5000 or less. On the basis of this rather broad classification, it was found that 17.5 of the children in the sample were "rural," and 82.5 were urban. As approximately as can be es-

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estimated, this is close to the national distribution of Catholics in the United States.<sup>4</sup> Table 2 gives the comparative percentages for our study.

TABLE 2.—PERCENTAGE OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN RECEIVING RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE HOME, BY RURAL AND URBAN AREAS.

Item	Percentage	
	Rural	Urban
Knowledge of Prayers		
Can make the Sign of the Cross	61.8	51.3
Can recite the "Our Father"	27.7	22.4
Can recite the "Hail Mary"	39.2	31.9
Knows prayer for grace at meals	17.5	13.5
Knows prayer to Guardian Angel	18.0	15.1
Understanding of Dogma		
Has some knowledge of Creation story	29.1	24.1
Has some knowledge of Adam and Eve	12.9	12.2
Has some idea of the Christmas story	32.8	34.7
Knows that Jesus is in Church	36.7	32.3
Knows the story of the Crucifix	34.6	29.8

The only category in which the urban child ranks ahead of the rural child is in the knowledge of the story of Christmas, and even here the difference is not significant.

Tables 1 and 2 present the picture of the pre-school religious training of Catholic urban and rural children for the country as a whole. It will perhaps be more meaningful to break down these general averages into regional groups to show the sectional differences which might be expected to exist in a country as extensive and varied as our own. We have used the sixfold division developed by Odum<sup>5</sup> in his study of regionalism. States were allocated to the various regions on the basis of the clustering of elemental indices, of which some 700 were used. Although the method Odum

employed may seem somewhat mechanical at times, neglecting psychic and social differences, his work still remains one of the most useful in the field.

### Cities Superior in Northeast

The Northeast region includes the following 12 states: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia. In our study, the distribution of rural and urban children was 10.8 and 89.2 per cent, respectively. Table 3 gives the per-

TABLE 3.—PERCENTAGE OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN RECEIVING RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE HOME, BY RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN THE NORTHEAST.

Item	Percentage	
	Rural	Urban
Knowledge of Prayers		
Can make the Sign of the Cross	68.9	56.8
Can recite the "Our Father"	11.8	25.9
Can recite the "Hail Mary"	13.9	35.2
Knows prayer for grace at meals	2.5	7.7
Knows prayer to Guardian Angel	.8	10.8
Understanding of Dogma		
Has some knowledge of Creation story	31.5	25.2
Has some knowledge of Adam and Eve	1.7	11.7
Has some idea of the Christmas story	21.4	30.4
Knows that Jesus is in Church	28.6	43.1
Knows the story of the Crucifix	18.1	30.0

centages for this region. It is interesting to note that the urban children in this region outrank the rural children in all but two categories: the ability to make the Sign of the Cross and some knowledge of the story of Creation. Further, with the exception of the first item, the rural children in this group rank well behind the general average.

The Middle States region includes eight states: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri. The proportion of rural to urban children in this group is 16.7 and 83.3 per cent, respectively. Table 4 gives the percentages for the children in this region. In all the categories,

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Catholic Weakness*, Des Moines, National Rural Life Conference, 1948. In this work the author presents convincing evidence that the Catholic population in the United States is only 19.4 per cent rural.

<sup>5</sup> Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1936, pp. 5-7.



TABLE 4.—PERCENTAGE OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN RECEIVING RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE HOME, BY RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN THE MIDDLE STATES.

Item	Percentage	
	Rural	Urban
Knowledge of Prayers		
Can make the Sign of the Cross	59.9	48.5
Can recite the "Our Father"	29.8	20.0
Can recite the "Hail Mary"	45.1	31.0
Knows prayer for grace at meals	21.7	15.3
Knows prayer to Guardian Angel	19.7	15.7
Understanding of Dogma		
Has some knowledge of Creation story	24.9	26.9
Has some knowledge of Adam and Eve	13.2	10.7
Has some idea of the Christmas story	40.0	37.0
Knows that Jesus is in Church	39.5	31.4
Knows the story of the Crucifix	34.6	30.1

except Item 1 in the "Understanding of Dogma," the rural children clearly outrank the urban children.

### Northwest Ranks Highest

The Northwest region includes nine states: North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah. The proportion of rural to urban children was 21.5 and 78.5 per cent, respectively. Table 5 gives the percentages for this region.

TABLE 5.—PERCENTAGE OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN RECEIVING RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE HOME, BY RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN THE NORTHWEST.

Item	Percentage	
	Rural	Urban
Knowledge of Prayers		
Can make the Sign of the Cross	70.0	55.0
Can recite the "Our Father"	37.5	29.2
Can recite the "Hail Mary"	52.8	37.0
Knows prayer for grace at meals	23.3	15.2
Knows prayer to Guardian Angel	37.8	25.7
Understanding of Dogma		
Has some knowledge of Creation story	32.8	24.7
Has some knowledge of Adam and Eve	19.1	14.0
Has some idea of the Christmas story	43.9	46.3
Knows that Jesus is in Church	42.5	37.3
Knows the story of the Crucifix	43.5	38.0

It will be noted that the children in this area outrank the others in practically all categories. The high percentages of rural children who know their prayers is particularly significant.

The Far West region includes four

states: Nevada, Washington, Oregon, California. The proportion of rural to urban children in this region was 15.4 to 84.6 per cent, respectively. Table 6 gives the percentages for the children of this region. With the exception of Item 1, these children rank below the general average in all categories.

TABLE 6.—PERCENTAGE OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN RECEIVING RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE HOME, BY RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN THE FAR WEST.

Item	Percentage	
	Rural	Urban
Knowledge of Prayers		
Can make the Sign of the Cross	67.3	51.6
Can recite the "Our Father"	32.2	20.8
Can recite the "Hail Mary"	36.8	28.2
Knows prayer for grace at meals	14.7	11.8
Knows prayer to Guardian Angel	9.6	7.5
Understanding of Dogma		
Has some knowledge of Creation story	29.6	17.8
Has some knowledge of Adam and Eve	7.1	8.7
Has some idea of the Christmas story	19.0	22.6
Knows that Jesus is in Church	28.3	22.6
Knows the story of the Crucifix	35.2	25.3

The Southeast region includes 11 states: Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia. The proportion of rural to urban children in returns from this region was 19.4 to 80.6, respectively. Table 7 gives the percentages for the children surveyed in this region. It will be noticed that this group ranks below the general average in all categories.

TABLE 7.—PERCENTAGE OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN RECEIVING RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE HOME, BY RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN THE SOUTHEAST.

Item	Percentage	
	Rural	Urban
Knowledge of Prayers		
Can make the Sign of the Cross	49.8	43.5
Can recite the "Our Father"	11.6	16.8
Can recite the "Hail Mary"	25.8	26.9
Knows prayer for grace at meals	15.4	13.3
Knows prayer to Guardian Angel	10.5	15.7
Understanding of Dogma		
Has some knowledge of Creation story	16.5	18.6
Has some knowledge of Adam and Eve	15.7	12.9
Has some idea of the Christmas story	20.2	28.6
Knows that Jesus is in Church	32.6	19.3
Knows the story of the Crucifix	25.1	18.1

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However, since the region is so large and the Catholic population is so widely distributed and has such varied aspects in the different sections, it is doubtful whether any worthwhile conclusions can be made on the basis of our data. This is one regional division which serves our purpose very poorly. Consequently we feel that a much more intensive study of this "region" would be needed to bring out the sectional differences which clearly exist.

### Regional Patterns Similar

The Southwestern region includes four states: Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona. As might be expected, the proportion of rural to urban children in our returns (34.2 to 65.8 per cent, respectively) is greater than in any other region studied. Table 8 presents the percentages for the various categories studied. The children included in this region rank above the average in most categories. This is especially true of their "understanding of dogma."

TABLE 8.—PERCENTAGE OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN RECEIVING RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE HOME, BY RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN THE SOUTHWEST.

Item	Percentage	
	Rural	Urban
Knowledge of Prayers		
Can make the Sign of the Cross	50.5	56.2
Can recite the "Our Father"	22.9	26.5
Can recite the "Hail Mary"	26.8	33.1
Knows prayer for grace at meals	7.8	16.2
Knows prayer to Guardian Angel	6.6	14.8
Understanding of Dogma		
Has some knowledge of Creation story	57.8	26.9
Has some knowledge of Adam and Eve	17.4	22.3
Has some idea of the Christmas story	23.0	44.2
Knows that Jesus is in Church	39.3	55.1
Knows the story of the Crucifix	45.4	41.5

In general, there is a rather remarkable similarity of patterns in all the regions. The Sign of the Cross and the "Hail Mary" are the best known of the prayers. This is only to be expected since most children find the "Our Father" quite difficult to memorize. Perhaps the low percentages for those

knowing the prayer for grace at meals can be explained by the fact that in many families where grace is still recited at meals, the head of the family leads the prayer and the children merely follow. It would seem from our data that mothers no longer teach their children to recite the customary prayer to the Guardian Angel. Is this an indication that the traditional childhood devotion to the Guardian Angel is disappearing?

One of the truly startling findings revealed by the study is the low percentage of children who know the story of Christmas. It is difficult to believe that the true significance of this Feast is beyond the comprehension of the average child reaching first-grade. Is it possible that this Feast has become so completely paganized and commercialized that the appealing story of the Christ Child has been obliterated even from the minds of our Catholic children?

In regard to knowledge of both prayers and dogma, many first-grade teachers remarked that children who had older brothers or sisters usually were quite well instructed. This observation lends itself to two interpretations. Either families with numerous children are more solicitous about the religious instruction of their children, or the older children teach the younger. The evidence seems to point toward the latter interpretation.

### Conclusions

What conclusions are we to draw from this study? It seems obvious that the Catholic family is confiding well-nigh the total burden of the religious instruction of children to the parochial school. Of course, it is proper and consoling that Catholic parents have great confidence in the valiant sisters teaching in our parochial schools. However, it is a serious neglect of sacred parental duties to confide the entire religious training of children to the

teachers in these schools. In the first place, this is an obligation and privilege which cannot be entirely delegated to others. Besides, to wait until the child is sent to school in order to start religious training, is to deprive the child of religious influences in the most formative years of his life. Moreover, it is burdening the school and the teachers with a task which they cannot fulfill adequately without the aid of parents. And finally, to confine religious training solely to the classroom, leads to a dangerous confusion of school and religion which can have fatal results once the child leaves the school.

Lest there be any who think we are conjuring up empty fears, let us consider the exhortation of Pius XII, in his allocution to mothers: "It is your task from the cradle to begin their education in soul as well as in body; for if you do not educate them they will begin, for good or ill, to educate themselves."<sup>6</sup> And a little later in the same vein: "Love the catechism and teach your children to love it; it is the great handbook of the love and fear of God, of Christian wisdom and of eternal life."<sup>7</sup> The recent observations of our American Bishops in their 1950 annual statement is no less insistent:

... Parents therefore, should make early

<sup>6</sup> Pius XII, "Guiding Christ's Little Ones," *The Family Digest*, 6 (February, 1951) 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

provision for their child's growth in God. This is not something to be postponed for nurture by school authorities. It must begin in the home through simple and prayerful practices. Morning and evening prayers, grace before and after meals, the family rosary, the saying of a short prayer each time the striking clock marks the passage of another hour nearer eternity, the reverential making of the Sign of the Cross, the inculcation of respect for the Crucifix and other religious objects, all these are practices which should be encouraged in the religious formation of the child.<sup>8</sup>

The authoritative teachers of the Church have spoken. It is evident from their statement that they do not believe the pre-school child too young to be given a rather solid religious training. Nor do they feel that they are imposing a great burden on the Catholic parent. They indicate the readiness on the part of the child to receive religious formation. In this, they are seconded by the testimony of the kindergarten and first-grade teachers who are unanimous in pointing out the young child's receptivity and eagerness to learn about God. Surely, the pre-school American child who daily demonstrates his ability to remember the not so simple exploits of Hopalong Cassidy, the Texas Rangers, Gang Busters, and so forth, is quite capable of learning the basic prayers and elements of the Faith.

<sup>8</sup> *The Catholic Mind*, 49 (February, 1951) 138-139.

## Democratic Means and Ends

The end, for democracy, is both Justice and Freedom. The use, by democracy, of means basically incompatible with justice and freedom would be to that very extent an operation of self-destruction.

JACQUES MARITAIN

*The national director of the Institute of Social Order presents a survey of post-war co-management developments in Europe, notably in West Germany.*

# LABOR - MANAGEMENT COOPERATION

## *A Progress-Survey of European Developments*

Leo C. Brown, S.J.  
I.S.O.

THE CURRENT controversy in Germany about *Mitbestimmungsrecht*, or workers' rights to share in the management of business, has begun to attract considerable attention in the United States. In fact, the vigor of this controversy; the sharply divergent positions of the Christian parties, of the socialists, of business organizations and the trade unions; the recent threat of strike to enforce the demand for co-management in the iron, steel and coal industries of the Ruhr—all contribute to create an impression here that co-management is a peculiarly German issue. This, of course, is not true. Since the end of World War II, co-management or *co-gestion* or *Mitbestimmungsrecht* has been a subject of political controversy, and even of legislation, in most of the countries of Western Europe.

The German situation may be better understood if we compare it with recent developments in other European countries. Accordingly, we shall briefly touch upon the following points: 1. developments in labor co-management outside of Germany, 2. post-war legislation in the German Länder, 3. the crucial issues in the present controversy over the proposed federal legislation for Western Germany, 4. more recent

developments in Germany.

### 1. Outside Germany

That labor should have some place in the management of industry is not a new idea in European social thought. For a decade before World War II, leaders of varied social movements—among them many Catholics inspired by the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*—had been contending for a modification of the usual wage contract which would make the workers, in some sense, partners in the business enterprise and which would give them either a share in the management or in the ownership or profits of a business establishment. The war, however, accelerated and intensified demand for social reform.

With the peace, aspirations of wage earners for economic security and social reform translated the tentative and somewhat academic pre-war proposals for modification of the wage contract into a loud and insistent clamor for legislation which would give workers active participation in the management of the economy. The war, too, had brought employers, especially in France, Belgium and Holland, to look upon these aspirations with increased tolerance, if not with sympathy and under-

standing. Here the levelling effect of defeat and occupation by a foreign army had gone far towards eliminating long-standing class hostilities, and the joint efforts of all classes against the common enemy had fostered an inter-class solidarity which carried over into the post-war period.

### Belgium Drafts Law

In Belgium, for example, during the occupation, a series of clandestine meetings between representatives of employers and labor unions resulted in the social security pact, which set out the general lines of post-war collaboration between these groups. Immediately after the occupation, the Federation of Belgian Industrialists, as evidence of its new policy, announced that within six months it would put into operation a system of labor-management councils.<sup>1</sup>

In Holland a similar spirit of cohesion and solidarity, born during the occupation, led immediately after the war to the formation of the Foundation of Labor (*Stichting van den Arbeid*).<sup>2</sup> This Foundation is a loose-jointed congress of trade unions and employer associations, entirely voluntary in character, which conciliates employer-union disputes and advises the government on social legislation. Its eminent success is both a proof and a measure of the improved mutual understanding and respect which has characterized the post-war labor relations in that country.

### French Seek Worker Participation

The prominence of the French labor movement in the underground resistance is well known in the United States. It has been called "the second

Resistant," General deGaulle being the first. When ultimate victory began to be assured, the French government in exile elaborated a number of projects for the social and economic reconstruction of France. In all of them, one idea repeatedly occurred: the necessity of giving workers some share in the direction of the economy and in the management of business enterprises.<sup>3</sup>

After the war, the French provisional government promptly gave these projects concrete form. A law of February 22, 1945 required the establishment of works councils through which employees would associate with management in all firms employing more than 50 persons. In the debates which preceded passage of the law, two issues became crucial: 1. Should worker participation include the right of co-decision in economic matters? 2. Should labor unions have a monopoly in designating candidates for the work councils? The labor unions, with the support of left-wing parties, were urging the affirmative on both these issues.

### Have Consultative Power

On the first, the unions lost. The legislation restricted work committees to a consultative role in economic matters. The *Exposé des Motifs*<sup>4</sup> states:

These committees, whose prerogatives in the social domain will be defined by a later decree, are not deliberative bodies in the economic domain. It has seemed necessary to leave to the manager of the enterprise, who is responsible before the nation for the business with which he is charged, an authority which corresponds with that re-

<sup>1</sup> For greater details see William N. Clark, S.J., "Industrial Democracy in Belgium," SOCIAL ORDER, 2 O.S. (1949) 58.

<sup>2</sup> See Peter de Bruin, S.J., "Toward Economic Order," SOCIAL ORDER, 1 (1951) 54.

<sup>3</sup> H. Erkman, *La Participation des Salariés à la Gestion de l'Enterprise*, 204.

<sup>4</sup> In France it is customary for the sponsors of important new legislation to introduce the law with an *Exposé des Motifs*, a commentary which explains its motives, purposes and general meaning. Substantial sections of the *Exposé* for the law of February 22, 1945, are summarized or reproduced in Erkman, *op. cit.*, p. 205ff.

sponsibility. The works committees, accordingly, will be consultative except in those matters which concern the management of the social institutions of the enterprise.<sup>5</sup>

On the second issue, however, the trade unions won a complete victory. While requiring election of workers' representatives by a majority vote of all employees, the legislation provided that only employees approved by the trade union which enjoyed representative status could stand as candidates. This

<sup>5</sup> In discussions of labor's participation in the management, Continental writers distinguish the social, personal or personnel and economic domains of a business.

The social domain seems to include those activities which look to the welfare of the working force as a group. Examples would be: measures for the improvement of safety or plant hygiene, medical assistance and various forms of social insurance. Wages and hours logically belong in this category, but since their determination is normally a function of trade unions they are rarely discussed among the activities of works councils.

The personnel domain embraces what we would normally call personnel policies and deals with selection, training, promotion and dismissal.

In the economic domain are included those decisions which relate to acquisition, transformation and disposal of property. Examples would be: decisions about the kind of raw materials, the kind and amount of product, its price and the financing of the business.

This distinction is difficult for Americans. The Taft-Hartley Act makes wages, hours, and the terms and conditions of employment necessary matters for collective bargaining between unions and management. The last phrase "terms and conditions of employment," is extremely elastic and would clearly include (much of) what Europeans designate as the social and personnel domains. As a matter of historical fact, collective bargaining has included what the Europeans would consider clearly economic questions. Whether a manufacturer will open or close a plant and how he may distribute work among his various sub-contractors are certainly economic decisions. These matters have been made the subject of explicit contractual provisions between the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for example, and the employers of its members.

provision insures that the works councils will not become rivals to the trade unions; at the same time it puts the trade union—even a highly centralized trade union which has representative status in many competing enterprises—into the business councils of each individual enterprise. The significance of this provision will become clearer when we discuss the current controversy in Germany where it is proposed that works councils will exercise both consultative and co-determining roles in economic decisions of individual firms. (The demand for co-management, however, is less specific and involves less sharing of authority with workers than is thought here.)

### Belgians Organize Economy

In Belgium, legislation providing for worker participation in management of the economy, while developing more slowly, was more extensive than in France. A series of debates in parliament, begun shortly after the termination of German Occupation, led to enactment, on August 3, 1948, of a law which extensively modified the legal and social framework of the Belgian economy. Unlike the French law, which provides merely for establishment of works councils at the plant level, the Belgian law creates two parallel series of labor-management institutions. One deals with economic problems, the other with social, and on three levels: the nation as a whole, each industry as a unit and each plant within an industry. In the plant units the councils are, as in France, restricted to an advisory role in economic matters. In social questions they have the right of co-decision.

As in France, the representative labor unions have a monopoly. Labor representatives in the plant councils must be elected from a list of candidates submitted by the labor unions.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

## Plant Groups Most Important

The sponsors made it clear that they considered the establishment of the local plant councils the most important and revolutionary aspect of the new legislation.

Without doubt ever more comprehensive and stringent regulation is already assuring respect for the legitimate rights of the workers. . . . Nevertheless, the internal structure of the business enterprise has not changed. Its jurisdictional foundation is based on the traditional notion of property and the work contract. . . . The task of the legislator of tomorrow will be to replace this contractual substratum by the idea of institution which will make it possible to unite harmoniously within the enterprise the social forces which cooperate in the attainment of its end, without one dominating the other. From this point of view it is certain that the creation of the [local] plant councils constitutes a structural reform of basic importance. It is a decisive step in the elaboration of a new business law which will permit the close and fruitful collaboration of the forces of labor and capital. . . .

The evolution of industrial technique has progressively depersonalized the notion of work. . . . The disillusioned psychology of the worker, as recent experiences have clearly shown, has certainly promoted neither efficiency nor morale in the factory. Thus, if we wish to restore to the workers their sense of personality and the meaning of their productivity, it behooves us to make them associates in the economic life of the plant where they are just as essential as those who, up to the present, have retained for themselves both the management and the ownership of the plant—or at least the management.<sup>7</sup>

## Seek Social Reform

We have quoted these official commentaries to suggest the atmosphere of conscious and deliberate social reform in which the laws were enacted. Little purpose would be served by describing in detail this or similar legislation in other European countries. In February, 1950, Holland passed an enabling

statute which, like the Belgian law, provides for establishment of labor-management institutions at three levels, the individual enterprise, the industry as a whole and the national economy. The functions of these institutions will be determined progressively by specific statute or royal decree.<sup>8</sup>

Austria, in 1947, passed a works-councils law less comprehensive, but similar to the French legislation.

In Norway, the principle of works councils has become recognized through collective bargaining. In 1945 the Norwegian Confederation of Workers and the Norwegian Confederation of Employers entered into an agreement providing for the establishment of labor-management production committees. The functions of these committees are wholly consultative, but pertain to technical, economic and social questions arising in the individual enterprises.

The Italian Constitution recognizes the broad principle of labor participation in management, but has yet to elaborate it by statute law. The 46th Article provides:

With a view to the social and economic improvement of labor and in harmony with the needs of production the Republic recognizes the right of labor to collaborate in the management of enterprises in the manner and within the limits established by law.

## 2. Legislation in German States

Works councils are not innovations in Germany.<sup>9</sup> During World War I, the Auxiliary Services Law (*Hilfsdienstgesetz*) established plant committees on which workers had representation. In the chaotic days of late 1918 and early 1919, the socialists tried to create a

<sup>7</sup> From the *Exposé des Motifs*. A convenient source of the original text is *Bulletin Social des Industriels*, 20 (July-August, 1948) 25-26, 15.

<sup>8</sup> The Dutch act is discussed in *SOCIAL ORDER*, 1 (February, 1951) 54; see n. 2 above.

<sup>9</sup> See Quentin Lauer, S.J. "Co-management in Germany" *SOCIAL ORDER*, 1 (January, 1951) 11.



widespread demand for worker and soldier councils. The phrase, *Arbeiter und Soldaten Räte*, became a slogan which was painted or chalked on any available space in towns throughout Germany. Workmen would participate in the management of business and the soldiers in the management of the army.

As far as industry is concerned, the 165th article of the Weimar Constitution (1919) made large concessions to this demand:

Wage earners and salaried employees are called upon to work out on an equal footing and in cooperation with employers the determination of wages and institutions of work as well as the whole economic development of the productive forces.

The works-councils law of February, 1920, gave partial implementation to this constitutional provision, but in essence it was a compromise between the socialist and more conservative groups. This statute restricted the works councils to supervision and determination of working conditions, resolution of disputes and co-determination of questions about plant hygiene, safety and insurance. In economic matters the councils were essentially consultative.

### Indecisive Results

Evidence of the effectiveness of the works councils during the 14 years they were permitted to exist is largely inconclusive. The remark of an official observer for the Norwegian government points up a difficulty so often present when there is question of evaluating economic institutions.

Certainly production and labor efficiency have increased considerably since introduction of works councils. But is this traceable primarily to the works councils or has it come about as the result of wholly other circumstances?<sup>10</sup>

Advent of the Nazis to power ended the works councils. The law of January 20, 1934, left management unfettered in its decisions, except where

limited by public or political authority. Works councils were supplanted by committees of trustees (*Vertrauensmänner*), consultative bodies lacking all real independence and functioning solely as guardians of National Socialist policies in the establishments.

The defeat of Germany in 1945 brought with it a complete breakdown of political structure and an almost equally thorough breakdown of economic structure. One of the first tasks of the occupation authorities was re-establishment of machinery of self-government. The Allied Control Authority promptly repealed the 1934 law and issued its own Law No. 22 of April 10, 1946, permitting re-establishment of works councils. The principle functions of such councils, if established, would be protection of workers' interests and cooperation with the Allied Control Authority. Specifically, they included: 1. negotiations about the application of collective agreements, 2. negotiations about factory regulations for the protection of labor, such as safety precautions, hygiene, working conditions, hiring and dismissal, 3. submission of proposals to employers for the improvement of methods of work and organization of production, 4. settlement of grievances, 5. cooperation with authorities for the prevention of war production and the denazification of public and private enterprises.

### Constitutions Seek Reforms

As part of the program of re-establishing self-government, the occupying authorities in the French and American zones early encouraged the election of constitutional assemblies to draft the basic law for the *Länder* in these zones. The provisions of these constitutions which relate to economic structure are indicative of a widespread desire for social reform and of a fairly general reliance upon more or less limited employee participation in management of the

<sup>10</sup>Erkman, *op. cit.*, p. 170.



economy as a means towards this reform. If the political complexion of these constitutional assemblies is kept in mind, the articles of the various constitutions, quoted below, are suggestive of the basic issues in the co-management controversy and at the same time are indicative of the political alignments on these issues.<sup>11</sup>

It is instructive to note that only in Hesse, for example, and in Württemberg-Baden, where the Christian parties were in a minority, and in the City of Bremen, the constitutions gave the works councils competence in economic matters. In Hesse and Bremen, the councils must collaborate with the trade unions. In Bavaria in the American Zone and in all three *Länder* in the French Zone (Rhineland-Palatinate, Baden, Württemberg-Hohenzollern) the right of labor participation is stated in general terms and the competence of works councils, where they are specifically mentioned, is strictly limited. Moreover, there is no requirement that the councils work in collaboration with

the trade unions. In fact, the language of some of the constitutions would seem to preclude formal cooperation.

### Constitutions of American Zone

The Constitution of Württemberg-Baden provides:

Workers and employees are called upon to work together on an equal basis, in cooperation with the employers, in the regulation of terms of pay and employment as well as in the entire economic development of the productive forces. (Article 23)

To regulate economic matters, public bodies will be created in which employers and employees, and as far as necessary, producers and consumers shall have an equal share. (Article 25)

The Constitution of Hesse is more specific:

With the cooperation of the trade unions, the employees, workers and officials in all enterprises and public agencies have common representative bodies which must be elected by general, equal, free, direct and secret ballot of the persons employed.

The duty of the works councils is to exercise the right of participation in the solution of social, personnel and economic problems of the enterprise on equal terms with management and in collaboration with the trade unions.

Details are to be regulated by law. (Article 37, italics inserted.)

The Constitution of Bavaria limits the right of participation of employees to matters which affect them:

In all economic enterprises, persons gainfully employed have the right to participate in matters affecting them and in all undertakings of considerable importance, they have direct influence on the policy and management of the business. For this purpose, works councils are formed pursuant to the provisions of a special law. This law also contains provisions for the participation of the works councils in the appointment and dismissal of employees. (Article 175)

The Constitution of the Free City of Bremen is similar in its scope to that of Hesse:

All persons working in enterprises and public agencies shall have common works councils which are to be elected by the employees in a general, secret and direct election.

<sup>11</sup>The political representation in the constitutional assemblies of the American Zone was as follows:

- a) Hesse—43 Social Democrats (SPD), 34 Christian Democrats (CDU), 7 Communists (KPD) and 6 Liberal Democrats (LDP).
- b) Württemberg-Baden—41 Christian Democrats (CDU), 32 Social Democrats (SPD), 17 Democratic People's Party representatives (DVP) and 10 Communists (KPD).
- c) Bavaria—109 Christian Social Union (CSU), 51 Social Democrats (SPD), 8 Communists (KPD), 8 Economic Reconstruction Party representatives (WAV) and 4 Free Democrats (FDP).

In the French Zone (Rhineland-Palatinate, Baden and Württemberg-Hohenzollern) the Christian parties held a clear majority in the assemblies of all three states.

In all states of the Soviet Zone the Soviet-sponsored Social-unity party (SED) held a dominant, practically unique position.

The works councils are authorized to cooperate, together with the trade unions, on an equal footing with the employers in economic, social and personnel matters concerning the enterprise. (Article 47, italics inserted.)

### **Constitutions of French Zone**

The Constitution of the Rhineland-Palatinate provides:

All persons engaged in economic life shall cooperate in a spirit of common responsibility in the solution of economic and social tasks in order thereby to mitigate economic and social contrasts.

For the purpose of this cooperation and in order to insure their economic and social interests, the employed persons shall be represented by works councils. . . .

The works council has the right to cooperate in decisions by employers which could seriously injure the interests of the employed. (Article 67, italics inserted.)

The Constitution of Baden provides:

Persons employed in economic enterprises have a right to cooperate in the structure and administration of the enterprises and in all affairs concerning them. (Article 39.)

The Constitution of Württemberg-Hohenzollern provides:

(1) The workers and employees have the right to participate in common with the employers in the administration, formation and development of the enterprise. *The regulation of working conditions and wages is the principal objective of cooperation with the employers, based on mutual confidence and mutual appreciation and esteem.*

(2) In regulating the collaboration between employee and employers the special interests of small and medium-sized enterprises must be taken into consideration. The free and progressive decisions of employers in such enterprises shall not be limited. (Article 96, italics inserted.)

### **In Soviet Zone**

Assemblies likewise were held in the Soviet Zone. All resulting constitutions are similar to the extent that they provide that, "the organization of economic life must comply with the principles of social justice," but they are silent about the most important organ of government—the "state party." This party

performs the dual functions of manning key positions in the bureaucratic apparatus and of mobilizing the population in support of state policies.

In keeping with these constitutional provisions, works-councils laws were passed in Rhineland-Palatinate, in Hesse, in Württemberg-Baden, in Baden, in the Free City of Bremen, and in Württemberg-Hohenzollern between 1947 and 1949, and in Schleswig-Holstein in 1950.<sup>12</sup> The statutes of Hesse and Württemberg-Baden give works councils the right of co-determination of economic matters within establishments<sup>13</sup> and in the case of Hesse this right is extensive. Important provisions of the statute are:

1. Works councils shall be erected in all business enterprises and government offices, with the cooperation of the trade unions, provided there are at least five permanent employees entitled to vote.

2. The employers and the works councils jointly decide, on an equal footing, questions concerning personnel, social or welfare activities and economic policy.

3. The right of economic co-management extends to all decisions concerning unforeseen changes in manufacture or in the plant which could change the situation for the wage earners.

4. The works council can intervene in any decision which would radically change the character of the enterprise in purchases, production or sales.

5. The introduction of new techniques, essential change affecting the stature of

<sup>12</sup>Because these statutes of Hesse and Württemberg-Baden, providing for co-management even in economic matters, could prejudice future legislation by the federal parliament representing all western German states, General Clay, at the time Supreme Military Commissioner in Germany, suspended their operation. On April 7, 1950, however, Mr. John A. McCloy, his successor, permitted the laws to be placed in operation.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. *Works Council Law for Land Hesse*, Promulgated May 31, 1948; Württemberg-Baden Law No. 726, "Concerning Policies of Employees in the Administration and Organization of Private Enterprises," August 13, 1948.

the enterprise, restrictions in manufacture or production mergers of establishments, or the closing down of establishments are not permissible without participation of the works council.

6. The works council has no right of co-management in the ordinary, day-to-day administration of the establishments.

7. The entrepreneur must regularly—at least every quarter—give the council a report on the status of the enterprise.

### 3. Crucial Issues

A German writer recently remarked, "Everybody wants *Mitbestimmung* but no two can agree on what it is." The remark is valid not only for Germany but for a good part of Western Europe. Beneath a surface agreement on worker participation in management lies an essential and far-reaching disagreement. Today in Germany, among its supporters, we can distinguish three well-marked but divergent positions on *Mitbestimmung*—the Catholic, the trade union and the socialist.

As remarked earlier, much of the recent impetus for worker participation in management came from Catholic sources. In fact, the current trade union demand for *Mitbestimmungsrecht* gained tremendous support from the *Katholikentag* at Bochum in August, 1949, which passed an enthusiastic but poorly-considered resolution favoring *Mitbestimmung*. But the Catholic position on employee participation in the guidance of the economy has been inspired by two ideas—the solidarity and interdependence of all elements of economic society and the principle of subsidiarity. This principle has been stated clearly by Pope Pius XI:

Just as it is wrong to take away from individuals what by their own ability and effort they can accomplish and commit it to the community, so it is an injury and at the same time both a serious evil and a perturbation of right order to assign to a larger and higher society what can be performed successfully by smaller and lower communities.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Joseph Husslein, *Social Wellsprings*, 206-7.

### Catholics Stress Cooperation

For its Catholic supporters co-management has been essentially a program of cooperation. It is based upon the community of interests, activities and responsibilities which workers share with the management of the enterprise to which they are attached. Cooperation is viewed as a means of releasing the unutilized or under-utilized capacities of management and the work force, achieving, thereby, not only a more economical use of productive forces but in the process creating sounder industrial relations.

These writers, too, in keeping with the principle of subsidiarity mentioned above, were thinking of worker participation in terms of the individual and his dignity. First of all, they wanted to make the worker something more than a "hand," a "tool" or a commodity. They wanted to enable him, in some way, to bring his creative powers to bear upon the details of his work and to participate as a complete human being in determining conditions which affect his daily working life. Accordingly, these writers wanted to give the working unit, that is the establishment, the greatest freedom consistent with the larger demands of the community in meeting and solving its problems. In short, they wanted to personalize responsibility and freedom as far as efficient operations would permit. On the first of these objectives they came in conflict with the socialists, on the second with the trade unions.

### Trade Union Position

By the very fact that they have had to be defensive and combative organizations, labor unions have feared and fought every other group which claimed the interest and the loyalty of the worker as a worker. Unions have always felt that a strong and even a centralized organization is needed for survival. Consequently, they look upon works councils with favor only to the

extent that they increase union influence and power.

In fact, trade-union support (insofar as trade-union thinking is distinguished from the socialism or communism with which some of the European trade movements are closely allied) of the post-war demand for worker participation in management was largely dictated by necessity. In the European post-war economy, whether in Germany or in the Allied countries, the possibility of pursuing specifically trade-union objectives through collective bargaining was extremely limited. Price and wage controls were mandatory and, even had they not existed, the opportunities for achieving economic goals by trade-union action would have been largely non-existent. The aspirations for economic democracy and, in Germany especially, the popular discussions of *Mitbestimmungsrecht*, gave the unions an issue and a slogan which helped greatly in holding and solidifying a membership which otherwise might have been lost. The trade-unionist—whether French, German or Dutch—was uncompromising in his insistence that the works councils be subordinated to the union:

The part necessarily and logically is subordinate to the whole; consequently, in the factory the works council should be subordinated to the union organization. . . . The works council is an instrument of the Syndicalistic organization.<sup>15</sup>

Here the union and the predominantly Catholic position come into conflict. The *Gewerkschaftsbund* has insisted upon legislation which would permit trade unions to designate worker representation for the works council. This legislation would permit a centralized union, and therefore an agency outside of (and more extensive than) the individual plant to participate in

policy formation for the establishment. Such an arrangement could deprive the individual establishment and the workers within the establishment of determination as effectively as a centralized and absentee management. This position is in direct conflict with the Catholic social philosophy which would place decision, as far as possible, within the plant and with the personnel within the establishment.

### Socialist Position

In sharp distinction to the Catholic spokesmen who would make the works councils a method of cooperation, the socialists and communists, whether in the trade union movement or without, generally regarded it as an instrument of political policy or social conflict.

When in France, for example, the Communist party was prominent in the post-war government, the Communist workers' groups accepted the idea that works councils should strive for increased production. By 1948 the line had completely changed:

The preeminent problem in any firm is no longer that of increasing production. The reactionary employer class, which historically engages in sabotage for political objectives, today is stimulating production for these same ends. . . . The essential problem today should be the reconquest of economic and political independence: the defense of our industries threatened by the Marshall Plan and the Geneva agreements.<sup>16</sup>

In this view the works councils are not institutions for improving working conditions in the plant or for releasing the creative capacities of the work force; they are instruments of international political policy.

Other statements which reflect socialist or Marxist outlook are no less revealing. M. G.-D. Delamarre, writing in *Force Ouvrière*, April, 1949, said:

<sup>15</sup> Report of Henri Jourdain, Secretary of the Federation of Metal Workers, from *Servir la France*, April, 1946.

<sup>16</sup> From a booklet published by *La Vie Ouvrière*, quoted by Pierre Brochard, "Le Syndicalisme Ouvrier," *Travaux de l'Action Populaire*, 4 (1949) 697.

These [works] committees must become effective instruments of social transformation and the basis of an economic democracy. . . . The employer would make work councils managers of the canteens or candy sellers. He is unwilling to agree that they are in truth one aspect of the economic evolution, that first step towards a new society which will bring with it a modification of the social structure.

The committees should work in close harmony with representatives of the workers and support their demands. . . . The works councils are an arm of conflict.<sup>17</sup>

### Serve Revolutionary Ends

In Italy, as remarked earlier, the new constitution provides in broad and general terms for some form of worker participation in management. During the parliamentary debates about statutory implementation of this right, two conflicting proposals were put forward—one by the Christian Democratic Party; the other by the Socialist Party. The first would create works councils and make them agencies of cooperation and consultation, leaving to management the right of decision in economic matters. The second would give the works councils equal power with management in technical and economic decisions. The Honorable Fernando Santi, member of parliament and an influential representative of the extreme left, in December, 1948, defined the works councils as "an instrument in the service of the trade union in its conflict against the employer class."<sup>18</sup>

In Germany a strong stream of socialist thought regarded the works councils and *Mitbestimmung* as a poor substitute for outright nationalization, but was ready to admit that the works councils in which employes (and especially the trade unions) enjoyed co-equal power with management in economic affairs could become an impor-

tant intermediate step toward socialism.

Certainly we should not . . . be confined to one strategy. Tactics are always coming to an impasse. At all times strategy should utilize tactics for reaching its end. If the German employing class offers us today the possibility of making progress in co-management why should a revolutionary organization ready for conflict reject this possibility? Solely because it does not suffice? I do not believe that that would be a sufficient reason. To put the right of co-management into the program of a revolutionary German labor movement would be nonsense. But if co-management were realized, we should at least see to it that it serves our purposes and not those of our adversaries.<sup>19</sup>

### 4. Recent German Developments

As was stated earlier, works-council laws were passed in most of the *Länder* comprising the Republic of Western Germany by the middle of 1950. These laws, however, were temporary or subsidiary measures. They would be superseded by a federal law which was expected within a relatively short time. On November 4, 1949, the *Bundestag* passed a resolution calling for the government to bring before it a proposal for a law which would establish the principles of economic organization and which would incorporate co-determination. The apparent unanimity of representatives in supporting this resolution masked the essential differences of which we have been speaking. The resolution, however, intensified public debate.

On the question of *Mitbestimmungsrecht* German employers were ready to make large concessions. In Germany, as in other Western European countries, years of wide-spread hardship and disaster had given rise to a spirit of greater understanding and solidarity between employers and trade unions. Moreover, many employers, active in the

<sup>17</sup> Quoted by Brochard, *op. cit.*, 687.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in A. Bruculeri, S.J., "L'Evoluzione Sociale dell'Impresa," *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 395 (1949) 605.

<sup>19</sup> Burkart Lutz, "La Co-Gestion — Une Discussion Sans Fin," as quoted in *Documents*, 5 (June, 1950) 645.



Christian social movements from undeniable religious motives, wanted to enlarge the responsibility and enhance the dignity of individual workmen. Others, perhaps, feeling that they were caught in a groundswell of emotional enthusiasm, were willing, for reasons of survival, to compromise. In March, 1950, representatives of the *Gewerkschaftsbund* and of employers' associations met in Hattenheim-im-Hesse to try to reach agreement on the question of *Mitbestimmungsrecht*, largely with a view of influencing the pending federal legislation. As far as employee representation in economic councils at the state or national level is concerned there was little difficulty in agreement. The employers' representatives would approve establishment of a Federal Economic Council (*Bundeswirtschaftsrat*), consisting of 100 members, representing in equal proportions labor and capital. They would approve similar councils for the individual states and would make these councils advisory to government on economic and social matters. Even in the matter of economic co-determination they were prepared to grant employees representation on the Boards of Overseers (*Aufsichtsorganen* or *Aufsichtsräte*) of joint stock companies.<sup>20</sup>

### Agreement Delayed

The Hattenheim conferences, however, produced no agreement. The *Gewerkschaftsbund* demanded 50 per cent of all seats on the supervisory boards. The employers would concede only 30 per cent. The employers insisted that the representatives of the employees on the board of any firm must be employees of that firm of at least 10 years' employment with it and at least 30 years of age. The *Gewerkschaftsbund* insisted that they be representatives of

the union and need not be employed by the firm. This constitutes the central issue between unions and employees at the present time.

By the middle of the summer of last year, it appeared that the *Bundestag* would not easily approve legislation which supported the position of the *Gewerkschaftsbund*. Representatives of the Federal government continued to carry on discussions with the employers and the trade unions, hoping that they would reach a compromise which the *Bundestag* would adopt.

### Strike Threatened

Last January, however, a development occurred which put the government under heavy pressure to yield to the trade unions. In the Ruhr iron and steel industries many owners and managers were removed at the end of the war and the British occupation authority created governing boards for 25 concerns, which were responsible for 80 per cent of the iron and steel output of the Ruhr. On these boards the trade unions were given equal representation with employers, a fact which gave unions both increased prestige and power. Developments late in 1950 created a widespread impression that this joint control would end with the return of these industries to German control. This the trade unions were unwilling to accept, and to prevent it they brought the issue to a head with threat of strike. In the iron and steel industries the workers voted 95 per cent in favor of a stoppage on February 1, and the miners by a slightly smaller percentage voted to support them. These industries employ upward of 700,000 men. West Germany could not tolerate such a loss of production. The government averted a strike with a promise of introducing the union version of *Mitbestimmung* in the iron, steel and coal industries. This was an overwhelming victory for the *Gewerkschaftsbund*.

At the same time this victory has

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Das Problem des Mitbestimmungsrechts, Stellungnahme und Vorschläge der Unternehmerschaft, Rotationsdruck der L. Schelleng'schen Buchdruckerei GmbH., Wiesbaden, May, 1950.*

dampened the ardor of many Catholic and conservative leaders for *Mitbestimmungsrecht*. They were advocating a form of worker participation in management which would recognize and strengthen the community of interest and responsibility which exist between the worker and the owner. They wanted to foster a type of economic democracy which would widen the area of responsibility and decision of men in the plants. They wanted to put the men—workmen and managers—in a position to make a cooperative attack upon those problems which were locally manageable. Now, apprehensive lest the type of *Mitbestimmungsrecht* which has been applied to to the large Ruhr enterprises may be extended to industry generally, they fear a new type of cartelization in which trade unions will determine economic policies. Dr. Joseph Gockeln, who had been prominent in the campaign for the Catholic conception of *Mitbestimmung-srecht* and in writing it into the constitution of North Rhine-Westphalia has declared opposition of the Catholic Workers Movement to the present law. What was important, he said, is the deproletarianization of the worker; yet instead of a sense of personal co-responsibility he has been given only a huge machine to which his fate is committed.<sup>21</sup>

### Further Problems

In the meantime the American National Association of Manufacturers has evinced interest in the situation. In a letter to the German Counsel in New York, Mr. Earl Bunting, executive director of the N.A.M., while disclaiming any desire on the part of N.A.M. to interfere in a strictly German situation

stated that he nevertheless felt obliged to indicate that the current situation is being regarded with great concern by American investors.

The matter now is further complicated by the price situation. West German prices started to rise in June, partly as a result of the withdrawal of subsidies from important food-stuffs and partly as result of rise in world market prices as result of the threat of war. In August the *Gewerkschaftsbund* announced a new wage policy.

Dr. Viktor Agartz, head of the DGB Institute of Economic Research in Cologne, stated that the West German Government dedicated to a "laissez faire" philosophy, could not blame labor for taking advantage of a boom situation. "Government and employers' associations have refused to maintain the purchasing power of wages by their price policies. The unions must therefore in future control price policies largely by their wage policy. . . . Any decision of an industry to increase prices will automatically be followed by the termination of the wage agreement. . . . The unions will use their wage policies not only to increase real wages and to assure to the worker his share in the business upswing, but also to press for the modernization and higher productivity of industry."<sup>22</sup>

Evidence in all the countries mentioned in this article and in other parts of Europe manifests a widespread demand on the part of workers for recognition of their role in the operation of the economy as well as for some measure of control over their own welfare and that of their country. The strength and scope of these demands vary from country to country,<sup>23</sup> and the institutions

<sup>21</sup> For a more extensive account of the current situation in Germany see "Experiments in Germany," *The Tablet*, February 17, 1951, 125.

<sup>22</sup> *Notes on Labor Abroad*, United States Department of Labor, January 1951, No. 17, p. 12.

<sup>23</sup> For a rather full account of developments in Sweden, see, Charles Leger, *La Démocratie Industrielle et les Comités d'Entreprise en Suède*, Colin, Paris, 1950, x, 227.



developed to implement demands will vary equally, but they are part of a widespread ferment.

At the same time, there is general recognition among businessmen of Europe that the developments called for by workers cannot be prevented. If they could be assured that a reasonable limit would be placed upon worker authority, that joint bodies would not be used for political and ideological purposes, many would assent, even though it might be done with some misgivings and regrets.

Undoubtedly there are similar developments in the United States. This is evident from sporadic demands that the area of collective bargaining be extended to include, for instance, price or production policies or the amount and distribution of profits. The various schemes that have been elaborated to give workers some degree of participation in the conduct of business or in the profits evidence the same trend.

This is not to say that agreement on the part of business is widespread or enthusiastic (it will be recalled that the major point of difference at the National Labor-Management Conference, called by President Truman in 1945,

was on the question of extending the area of collective bargaining), but progress can be noted.

Whatever similarities may be noted between the current aspirations of European and American workers, there is a profound difference in the way in which the two bodies of workers would achieve them. In Europe there is universal reliance upon some form of legislation by which the national (or state) government authorizes and requires elaboration of structures for co-direction. In the United States, on the other hand, far greater reliance is placed upon the instrumentality of collective bargaining. Joint agreement, rather than government decision, is to determine the scope, structure and objectives of labor-management cooperation.

On both continents the movement is fraught with difficulties and with some measure of danger. But it represents a profoundly human development which, if kept within reasonable limits and based upon a clearly recognized and frankly admitted community of interests and responsibilities, might make work and the direction of the economy nobler and more satisfying activities for all who engage in them.

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## Religion and Economic Reform

In the field of religion . . . much important formative thinking is being done on economic problems . . . religious sources are furnishing a large and growing body of material, treating economic problems with technical competence and in the light of religious standards. The great papal encyclicals on these subjects are well known . . .

JOHN MAURICE CLARK

# CIVITAS HUMANA

## A Review

Paul V. Kennedy, S.J.

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**D**URING THE PAST decade several serious and able scholars have warned the relatively free West that the particular brand of social reform it was embracing was leading it down the road that ends in totalitarianism. In the minds of many this is a debate long since closed, and opponents of the social program developed in Britain and America—even though they be of the stature of von Hayek, Jewkes, von Mises or Orton—must be infected with reactionary individualism. Actually the question is still an open one, and it may not be unprofitable to grant a hearing to the latest of this group of critics to attract attention in the United States, if only to see how he can be answered or whether the charges against him can be sustained.

Dr. Wilhelm Röpke, though now a Swiss subject and since 1937 a professor at the University of Geneva, was German-born, had academic experience at several universities, worked for a year with the Rockefeller Foundation and was a member of the Reich committee on unemployment, from which he had the honor of being dismissed in 1933 by Hitler. His writings evidence sincerity, erudition and a deep attachment to humane and Christian values. In the opening pages of his *Civitas Humana*<sup>1</sup> Dr. Röpke appraises collectivism as "the fundamental and mortal danger of the West" and proceeds to describe it in its full bloom as

political and economic tyranny . . . the despotic organization of every department of life, the destruction of personality, totalitarianism, and the rigid mechanization of human society. (*Civitas Humana*, p. 2.)

### Fears Collectivisms

It is not, however, the totalitarian collectivists that he is concerned with, but those other socialists and proponents of centralized planning who think not only "that collectivism can be limited to the economic—that is to say the most important everyday sphere—without endangering other spheres" but "that collectivism is necessary in this very sphere so that human values in other directions may be preserved and human liberty brought to fulfillment." This belief of theirs is "the most fatal and tragic mistake of our times." (*Ibid.*, p. 3.) For a collectivist economy, whatever the intentions of its founders, is necessarily and progressively coercive; the planners lack the omniscience needed to adjust production to the consumer, so the consumer must be adjusted to production. But

nation and society always form a single whole in all spheres. It [the state] cannot be despotic in the most important and liberal in the rest . . . collectivism can thrive only in the shade of a scaffold. (*Ibid.*, pp. 20, 22.)

The alternative which Röpke proposes to collectivism is the restoration of a genuine market economy. This is not, of course, blowing the bugle for capitalism, or at least for the sort of capitalism that existed in recent decades. That system grew out of the old liberal error that an economy would be free if the state kept hands off and that it would of necessity serve rather than dominate society.

<sup>1</sup> *Civitas Humana: A Humane Order of Society.*—By Wilhelm Röpke, Ph.D. Translated by Cyril Spencer Fox. William Hodge and Company, Limited, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, 1948, xxiii, 235 pp. 21/-.

## Free Economy Difficult

Actually, he insists, a free and competitive economy must be deliberately created and sedulously tended. It requires a legal framework which is resolutely anti-monopolistic and which defines the conditions and the scope of the competitive process (which need not at all be social Darwinism). Provision must be made for liberal state intervention to achieve certain desirable goals not likely to be attained by private effort. And, above all, there must be a healthy social milieu, for, in the words of Professor Gideonese of Brooklyn College,

Free economic institutions depend on the stability of the social framework within which alone a competitive structure can continue to exist. (Quoted, *ibid.*, p. 32.)

A conspicuous example of social ill-health and instability is proletarianism. In all the industrially-advanced nations there exist large numbers of families without property or resources of their own, without firm integration into the community, without roots. They tend to a profound dissatisfaction; they often live without purpose or direction. They are like loose ballast in a storm-tossed ship, shifting aimlessly, incalculably. They are the ready-made tool of the destructive demagogue.

The collectivist solves this problem by making all citizens proletarians. Others rely on a variety of relief measures lumped together under the name of social insurance, which do nothing to relieve the bleakness of proletarian existence, but on the other hand reduce the motivation for self-reliance and become a drag on the economy by increasing its rigidity.

## Redeem Proletariat

The only real answer to the problem, in the opinion of Röpke, is to make ownership genuinely possible to a large number, in fact to a great majority, of families, and to this end a sound social policy can be decisive. It will involve

correlatively an encouragement of small enterprise, of independent craftsmen and merchants and a decentralization of industry—all of which can be accomplished without notable loss of economic efficiency and with obvious social gain.

In a healthy society and under proper regulation, a market economy can be both the instrument and the protection of freedom and a valuable means of humane progress.

## Collectivism to Totalitarianism

No summary can do full justice to a thoughtful writer's work, to its tone, to its ingenuity of detail. The brief account here given of *Civitas Humana* may, however, serve to attract the reader's attention and to raise some interesting questions. Does Röpke really prove that what may be called well-meaning collectivism inevitably tends toward totalitarianism? Not completely, it must be admitted. A decisive demonstration could not be confined to the theoretical plane but would have to go beyond the scope of this work and appeal to social experience, to the Roman adventure in *panem et circenses*, for instance, or to the already discernible evolution in British socialism. Nevertheless, his arguments are cogent and thought-provoking.

But isn't he an individualist, and doesn't he have altogether too much faith in a competitive economy which advanced thinkers have written off? Certainly he is an individualist—of some sort. But his is not the individualism that has justly fallen into disfavor, the kind that shrugs off social responsibility or the demands of social order. He has made his position in this respect quite clear:

The social and humanitarian principle in the frame must balance the principle of individualism in the core of the market economy if both are to exist in our modern society and at the same time the deadly dangers of mass civilization and proletarianisation are to be avoided. (*Ibid.*, p. 32.)

### Competition Important

A similar answer may be made regarding his views on competition. As he sees it, a free, competitive economy is the best instrument available to men for the integration and balance of their diverse interests as producers, consumers, investors; the only alternative in the long run is arbitrary decision and despotic control. But the market he has in mind cannot be located on any street corner, and the competition he defends is not "limitless," to recall a papal adjective.

A genuine competitive system which is at the same time just, fair, and which functions properly cannot exist in reality without a well-considered legal and moral framework and without permanent supervision of the conditions under which competition must fulfill itself as a really effective system. (*Ibid.*, p. 28.)

### Questions Social Security Laws

What about his derogatory view of social security? Isn't his attitude reactionary? It may be. And it may be, on the contrary, that the public has been sold a bill of goods. Consider one aspect of that welfare program, old age security. When first introduced in this country, the plan was limited in its coverage according to the requirements of sound administration. The announced aim was not to provide a sufficient retirement benefit but enough to relieve the aged of complete dependence. And the amount of the benefit was to be related to the premiums paid in, according to sound insurance principles.

The aim now is universal coverage, a benefit sufficient of itself to provide a minimum standard of living and a benefit, moreover, practically unrelated to the premiums paid in. Just recently, by way of illustration, the benefits were arbitrarily doubled, because of the decreased purchasing power of money (that is to say, because of the protracted inflationary policy of the government).

Notice some implications. In the

wealthiest country in all history, at the peak of its prosperity, it is assumed that the people cannot provide for themselves but must have the government do it for them. Furthermore, they are discouraged from making any effort, for they see the value of their private savings melting away, while the government largesse is increased to keep pace with inflation and to keep peace in the hearts of its clients. Again, what moral foundation is there for a governmental grant to those who could have provided for themselves? — There is much more to be said on this matter than the thoughtless think.

### Position On Vocational Order

But finally, to raise one last question, does not Röpke stand in opposition to the industrial council or functional group system so firmly a part of Catholic social theory? He seems to, though in the present volume there is no clearer positive indication than an obscure reference to those who "in the misleading name of a misunderstood corporativism . . . are furthering an increasingly monopolistic rigidity in economic life" (*Ibid.*, p. 27). There must be a misunderstanding here, for in reality such functional groups would fit admirably into the kind of economic order he has in mind. For one thing, they would be far more competent than the state to formulate and supervise norms of competition appropriate to various industries. Perhaps they have been represented to him as price-fixing agencies; if this were the case he would not stand alone in his opposition to them. At any rate, their exclusion leaves a regrettable gap in his social theory.

Dr. Röpke's *Civitas Humana* has many defects, and the translation leaves much to be desired in the way of smoothness and readability. But it will be useful to those who are disturbed by the trend of events or are unwilling to accept the current "social consciousness" uncritically.

# || TRENDS ||

## The Supreme Court and the Right to Strike

In 1947 the state of Wisconsin, along with eight other states, enacted laws compelling compulsory arbitration in public-utility labor disputes. On February 26, 1951, the U. S. Supreme Court invalidated the Wisconsin law as a usurpation of the jurisdiction claimed by Congress under Taft-Hartley. The two unions involved in the Wisconsin case struck for higher wages but were enjoined by the local Wisconsin courts. Since these unions had been certified by the NLRB, they claimed benefits of Section 7 of Taft-Hartley which guarantees the right to strike. No state law can take this right away, said the U. S. Supreme Court. The decision of the high court was narrowly restricted to one point which, Chief Justice Vinson wrote, was dispositive of the case—the prior occupation of the field by Federal law.

What the states can do to protect the public against a strike of public utility workers is now an open question. The states may be able constitutionally to employ martial law or seizure, but compulsory arbitration in any industry "affecting commerce" is now unconstitutional. Justice Frankfurter, dissenting with Justices Burton and Minton, felt that Congress did not intend to leave the states without this power of compulsory arbitration, but his case is weak before the majority's demonstration that the NLRB has exclusive jurisdiction.

On March 20, 1951, the Attorney General of Missouri declared that the law compelling compulsory arbitration in that state in the case of a threatened public utility strike falls under the ban of the Supreme Court decision and is therefore void.

The constitutional difficulties with compulsory arbitration demonstrate clearly the high desirability of voluntary arbitration, conciliation and mediation. Unless these latter methods are developed into weapons of greater use in the case of industries affecting the public there will be a vehement demand on the state and Federal level for new powers to prevent strikes by transit operators, hospital workers and public-utility employees.

MAY, 1951

## Negroes in Jesuit Schools

A report issued recently by the Jesuit Educational Association states that there are approximately 1200 Negro students enrolled in the member institutions within the United States. Of these, 1127 are in colleges and universities; 64 are in high schools. They constitute slightly more than one per cent of the 100,290 students enrolled. St. Louis University has the largest group of Negro students, 332. Negro enrollment in high schools increased by four in the present academic year; college and university enrollment declined by 31. Largest proportionate registration was in schools of social service, in which Negroes were 7.8 per cent of all students.

## Foreign Labor Exploited

More than a million Mexican workers enter the country illegally each year, says a series of articles in recent issues of the *New York Times*. Lured by prospects of good wages, they live in conditions of virtual peonage and are paid pitifully low wages.

Hourly rates as low as fifteen cents are on record, and the prevailing wage for Mexican "wetbacks" (so-called because they cross the Rio Grande river illegally) in large areas last summer was 25 cents hourly. Cotton pickers in the South were often paid as little as \$1.25 a hundred pounds, which would net them a maximum of \$26 for a seven-day week.

Furthermore, gross wages are often further reduced by deductions for food, lodging, commissary purchases. The articles report cases in which a family of four had worked four full days for a net of \$6.50; in another instance an experienced cotton picker was told at the end of three days' work that he had just paid for the food he had eaten.

A recent study estimated that cotton farmers in the Rio Grande netted an extra \$5,000,000 in profit as a result of exploitive wages paid these illegal laborers. Wage rates in other parts of Texas are as much as 140 per cent higher than in areas where "wetbacks" predominate in the labor market.

The President's Commission on Migratory Labor, of which San Antonio's Archbishop Lucey is a member, recommended



establishment of a Federal Agency to co-ordinate activities for migrant labor welfare.

### Civil Liberties in Sweden

Proposed legislation in Sweden would make great strides toward full civil liberties for members of all religious bodies. The legislation has been prepared as a result of action by the Dissenters' Legislative Commission.

Disabilities that may be removed include: prohibition against establishment of religious communities, against dissidents (non-Lutherans) holding public teaching posts and public offices, against religious ministers performing marriage ceremonies. At the present time, too, all citizens are obliged to pay taxes for support of the Swedish Lutheran church and records maintained by other churches (baptismal, matrimonial, burial records, etc.) are not recognized by the state. Reports do not indicate whether study of the Lutheran catechism will continue obligatory in all state schools.

### Communist Decline in Europe

A recent State Department report states that Communist membership in Western Europe has declined by a third, almost 1.3 million members, since the end of World War II. According to the report there were almost four million Communists in the same countries in the early post-war years (See "World Communism," SOCIAL ORDER, 1 [1947] 40).

The figures for individual countries are:

Country	Membership		% Decline
	1946	1950	
Austria	150,000	100,000	34
Belgium	100,000	35,000	65
Denmark	60,000	22,500	63
France	850,000	600,000	30
Italy (1948)	2,300,000	1,600,000	31
Luxembourg	3,000	500	84
Netherlands	50,000	33,000	34
Norway	40,000	14,000	65
Sweden	60,000	33,000	45
Britain	60,000	40,000	34
West Germany	300,000	200,000	34
	3,973,000	2,678,500	33

### Negroes in Sports

With the start of the baseball season, the program for integrating prominent Negro athletes into the major American professional sports resumes its onward march. The setback caused by the recent sensational disclosures about the fixing of

college basketball games by white and Negro players was cushioned somewhat by the revelation that one honest Negro player had rebuffed the offers made by gamblers and had precipitated the entire clean-up.

The balance sheet still shows a sizeable list of credits for Negro athletes and a respectable reputation for wholesome sportsmanship in major league baseball. Jackie Robinson, Roy Campanella, Sam Jethro, Larry Doby, and Don Newcombe will share the limelight with a number of new faces in the big leagues. Though there is still some practice of jimcrowism in providing living quarters for the colored players in the Grapefruit League and in the training camps, they are doing a good service for race relations in the South by actually engaging in interracial sports in ball parks that had never seen the mixed games before. Local gentry all around the South is becoming accustomed to the still rather novel sight of nonsegregated sports.

In the field of boxing, the reaction against the savagery and brutality of some of the matches that have resulted in the death of a contestant has brought down some criticism on the type of competition furnished by Negro competitors. Though one of the recent victims was a Negro, Sonny Davis of Washington, most of the fatalities have been white fighters. The coincidence of their equally severe fights with others of the same race has been lost on those who criticize the fierceness of Negro boxers as a racial quality.

Some firsts have been scored in other fields of athletic competition in recent months. Althea Gibson, the first Negro to compete in tennis tournaments at Forest Hills, (see SOCIAL ORDER, 3 [October, 1950] 373-74), repeated by scoring a first in playing in a Florida tournament.

### Religious Pocket Books

A Chicago publisher has entered the pocket-book field with a list of wholesome titles. The first two available are lives of the recently-canonized St. Maria Goretti, *In Garments All Red*, and a juvenile account, *The Red Lily*. The third title released is an account of the Holy Family for modern families, *The Family for Families*. This was written by a Cana pioneer in the mid-west, Rev. F. L. Filas, S.J.

Information about these publications can be had from Lumen Books, Box 3386, Chicago 54, Illinois. Ask Lumen to send you their *gratis* publication, *Lumen Looks at Pocket Books*.

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# BOOKS

**POLICY FOR THE WEST.**—By Barbara Ward. W. W. Norton, New York, 1951, viii, 317 pp. \$3.75.

An earlier work by the eminent British economic analyst, *The West at Bay* (SOCIAL ORDER, February, 1949, pp. 89-91), outlined the crisis which western democracies faced in mid-1948. The crisis has changed little but has worsened considerably.

In the present work Miss Ward makes her proposals about means toward western survival. The proposals are disarmingly simple and, at first glance, trite. But the extraordinarily well-informed analysis with which they are substantiated makes Miss Ward's book one of the most substantial discussions of the crisis yet completed.

The policy involves present—and long-term—containment of Soviet imperialist pressures, together with economic rehabilitation and socio-political justice for all free areas. In the achieved realities of ECA-stimulated European recovery and the potential of a unified Atlantic Pact rearmament, Miss Ward sees the assurances that physical containment is possible. In Point IV proposals and a world movement for strengthening the new nations of the East, she sees the possibility of building a world in which Communism will wither.

Her analysis is optimistic, it must be admitted. For instance, in surveying the Soviet periphery for new danger spots for further satellite outbreaks, like Korea, she finds surprisingly few. In Japan, Formosa, the Philippines, (Indonesia, curiously enough, is not considered) she sees little likelihood of trouble. There is grave and immediate danger in Indo-China, remoter danger in Burma, Siam, Malaya; almost none in India and Pakistan.

There can be no satellite activity in the near-East (Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria) because no satellites exist in those regions and the only attempt at violence, which involved Iranian Azerbaijan in 1946, failed. It must be said, however, that Miss Ward's easy dismissal of danger in Turkey ignores the elections of last May, the threatened economic condition of the country and the injection of 250,000 Bulgarian expellees (SOCIAL ORDER, January, 1951, pp. 41-42) into an already strained nation.

All these points, as well as western Europe, must be greatly strengthened because our danger is not merely one of satellite attack.

One of the merits of Miss Ward's study is that it examines not only the factors of material preparedness, but the spiritual resources that must sustain an enduring effort at containment-cum-rehabilitation. While in this portion of her study adequate attention is given both to the need for unity in objectives and policies and to the demands for genuine faith in the values for which the West stands, there could be more penetrating investigation of the imperative demand for fortitude in sacrifice during the gathering years of the struggle.

Those who read Miss Ward will find motives for building the fortitude.

FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

**WAR AND THE MINDS OF MEN.**—By Frederick S. Dunn. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1950, ix, 111 pp. \$2.00.

Professor Dunn's career as Director of the Yale Institute of International Relations has provided a rich background for this book. He develops the preamble of the UNESCO constitution which suggests that wars do not originate in the acts of governments but in the minds of men. The author shows that this seeming platitude implies a revolution in foreign policy. In the past international diplomacy was controlled by a Talleyrand, a Bismarck or an elite group. Wars were limited and of no concern to the masses. But now that war is total there is need for a change in the focus of foreign policy, from the round table and portfolio to the minds of the people. The author implicitly takes issue with those who believe that armed force can cope with the hydrogen bomb. The only possible defense must be constructed in the minds of men by removing the germs of political conflict, which thrive on a diet of ignorance and prejudice.

This book should help Americans to realize that while the shooting war is limited to Korea, the war for men's minds between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. is global in extent. The hope for peace must be based not on the political and economic arrangements of gov-

ernments but on the removal from men's minds of the attitudes and dispositions in which the seeds of war germinate.

There is an implication throughout the book that all of man's values are derived from the political community. No mention is made of the rock of spiritual values without which the defenses of peace, even in men's minds, will be built on the shifting sands of worldly values.

ALBERT P. BARTLETT, S.J.  
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**A PLAN FOR PEACE.**—By Grenville Clark. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1950, x, 83 pp. \$1.00.

The author, who was intimately connected with the "Plattsburgh Idea" of World War I and the conception of the Selective Service Bill of World War II, maintains that universal disarmament is the only way to arrive at a lasting peace. To this end, the author proposes a general East-West settlement based on a drastic revision of the United Nations Charter, resulting in a limited world government.

The success of this plan depends, of course, on the willingness of the Russians to negotiate. The author believes that persistent, intelligent efforts to negotiate would succeed. The alternative is World War III.

The author points out the glaring inadequacies in our present system of international law. He insists on a new world law based on moral principles and justice. In so doing he is commendably in accord with Jessup, Lauterpacht and other progressive internationalists. This program, if it could be carried out, would help to achieve lasting peace.

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Weston College

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**TIME TO UNDERSTAND.**—By Emanuel R. Posnack. Greenberg, New York, 1950, iv, 181 pp. \$2.50.

This book presents a plan for world peace and security based on universal economic freedom. After a theoretical refutation of Marxian socialism and finance capitalism, which the author calls "reactionism," it argues that modern advances in the twin technologies of communication and transportation have overcome "space" and "time," the natural barriers to human welfare.

Thus the only barriers remaining are man-made, and the time has come for them

also to be removed. These man-made barriers are sovereignty, land proprietorship, taxes (except land taxes), organized labor, colonial systems, international trade blocs, money fluctuation, monopoly, and personal factors. These being removed, a world organization financed by land taxes alone would grant to all peoples free economic information and cheap transportation, rendering "the entire area of the globe conveniently accessible to man for the wide distribution of his skill, his goods and his productive machinery." Thus will man be brought to "peace."

It is hard to believe that people, once instructed in the economic facts of life, would be willing to exchange national sovereignty and land proprietorship for world citizenship and absolute economic equality with all men. And even if they were willing, their power to accomplish this in the political field is highly doubtful. Some too will object to the author's presumption that the attaining of economic security would necessarily bring man "peace."

WILLIAM W. FLANAGAN, S.J.  
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**THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY.**  
—By P. T. Ellsworth. Macmillan, New York, 1950, xx, 922 pp. \$5.50.

This book is intended as a text for undergraduate courses in international economics. Whether its contents, covering 885 pages, could be satisfactorily taught and assimilated in a one-semester course is questionable. The book covers material usually presented in a two-semester program of courses in "Principles of International Trade" and "Commercial Policy" or "International Economic Problems."

The distinctive character of the book must be sought for rather in its "manner of approach" than substantial content. The method of presentation focuses on the development, within their historical context, of international economic relations, policies, present-day problems and of the theoretical equipment serviceable for their analysis. The method is commendable from a viewpoint of realism and student-interest; more debatable, perhaps, is the effective "teachability" of the somewhat unwieldy amalgam of economic history, history of economic doctrine and international economic theory that is here involved.

The historical portions of the book include a treatment of Mercantilism that is well done from the viewpoint of logical integration of the elements of Mercantilistic thought and policy. The emphasis on

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local trade in the medieval economy omits recognition of the evidence marshalled by scholars such as Rörig and Sieveking. It points instead to an active and extensive medieval interregional trade on a wholesale basis, for large strata of consumers, and not only in luxury items.

The treatment of international economic theory in the text is good. Perhaps worthy of special mention is a detailed and clarifying exposition of the concept of a "balance of international payments," of equilibrium in the foreign balance and of the adjustment process subsequent to a disturbed equilibrium.

The book contains some objectionable elements for the Catholic reader. One gets an impression of the Church and religious forces generally as hostile to the liberating "spirit of inquiry" and of scientific advance. Occasional phrases, comments and quotations seemingly manifest no great sympathy for the Church and Catholic influence; for example, contact with Arabic thought is referred to as helping "to release the thought of Europe from its bondage to theology." (p. 19) Birth control is referred to (pp. 801, 802) as the "logical direct attack" on the problem of maintaining initial gains in economic productivity in populous, underdeveloped countries, but is regarded as "rather hopeless" in view of the "religious, social and cultural obstacles" to spreading the practice among "ignorant and poor people."

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THE SOCIAL CRISIS OF OUR TIMES.—By Wilhelm Röpke. Chicago University Press, 1950, 260 pp. \$3.50.

This work by the celebrated author of *Civitas Humana* (see the extended review in this issue of SOCIAL ORDER) was written before that outstanding work.

The two books cover much the same ground and propose much the same remedies to the socio-economic crisis which confronts us today. In the earlier work, *Social Crisis*, Röpke is preoccupied with the task of social analysis in an attempt to make clear the three-fold choice before the present-day world, the choice, on the one hand, of the alternate extremes of *laissez faire* capitalism and collectivism, and, on the other, his proposed Third Way of economic humanism. In the second work, *Civitas Humana*, the author spends more time elaborating the structure of his ideas

and outlining the form of society he proposes.

*The Social Crisis of our Times* has been criticized by some because it seems, in stressing the importance of individual entrepreneurship, to reject outright any form of economic structure, especially such a vocational structure as *Quadragesimo Anno* advocates. And it must be admitted that certain passages (pp. 93-96) do seem to contain such a rejection.

On this significant point *Civitas Humana* can be a corrective. What Röpke seems to be denouncing is a concentration of economic interests which will inevitably seek selfish advantages at the expense of a free economy ("This corporativism against which our whole criticism is directed because it would entail monopoly, group anarchy, rule of vested interests, corruption, national decay, and rampant privileges, . . . Unfortunately the muddle has been only increased through certain Catholic circles misinterpreting the papal encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* of May 15, 1931, in spite of its perfectly plain declaration—and one which coincides fully with our own point of view—and reading into it a recommendation of the corporative state.") (*Civitas Humana*, p. 38, n. 15.) (Italics inserted.)

The positive ideas of *Social Crisis* coincide with those of *Civitas Humana* and are adequately evaluated by Fr. Kennedy in the review already mentioned.

FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

BONDS OF ORGANIZATION: An Appraisal of Corporate Human Relations.—By E. Wight Bakke. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1950, xii, 239 pp. \$4.00.

What are Bonds of Organization? They are "the systems through which people . . . are bound together into a functioning whole." This book studies five such bonds of industrial organization (Organizational Charter, Functional Specifications, Status, Communications, and Reward and Penalty. Guinea pigs for the study were the Southern New England Telephone company and the Connecticut Union of Telephone Workers.

Professor Bakke and his associates at the Yale Labor and Management Center hope that their present studies of organizational aspects of industrial life can ultimately be validated as general principles applicable to any organized behavior. A final chapter, "What of it?" and two ap-

pendices on their method provide an excellent approach to industrial sociology. The appendices are particularly important because this book can be judged only in relation to studies already published and some still in preparation.

In the present monograph, the researchers seek to give clearer understanding of organizational relationships by describing the actual bond-systems revealed in interviews covering company and union separately. A second purpose was to show how to measure the contribution of the bonds to the personal goals of the participants. If you feel the first has already been done adequately, Professor Bakke answers that he believes that elements have not been well described nor treated in such relationship as would reveal their effect on goal achievement.

Readers will be impressed by the method developed for measuring such contributions and the results yielded. Concerning the first purpose—to increase descriptive content of such familiar terms as status system, etc.—, readers might be forewarned that Bakke does not pretend to be educating new ideas but only to be *filling with content* those fairly current, to be ordering these more systematically and to be finding relations not yet made explicit.

Nevertheless, the author appears to have too poor an opinion of what can be learned by analogies (p. 8), and thus overstates the need for studies of actual behavior. This reader found himself prepared from other disciplines to say to many of Bakke's findings "Isn't this about what you'd expect?" Indeed, if Bakke is to work back from industrial behavior to a general science of behavior will not analogy play its part? Far better, however, to overstress factual studies than to ignore them.

PHILIP S. LAND, S.J.  
I.S.O.

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**STORES AND UNIONS.**—By George G. Kirstein. Fairchild Publications, Inc., N. Y., 1950, x, 245 pp. \$7.00.

This is a first recording of the growth of unionism in dry-goods and department stores. It is time for such a study: the two unions of primary jurisdiction in the industry, the Retail Clerks International Association (AFL) and the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (CIO) reported 1950 memberships of 200,000 and 65,000 respectively.

The author moved from Harvard to Bloomingdale's to hold many posts en route to manager and vice-president in charge of industrial relations there in

1939. He is presently a management consultant on store problems and teaches the subject at New York University.

This is a simple book, valuable for its brevity and its coverage of both the essential elements in the union history and the relations of the unions with employers. Actually, only 186 pages are text; the rest is a series of appendices on statistics of union growth and notes of national conventions.

Fifty pages of pre-New Deal union history are followed by sketches of the AFL and CIO growth in retail stores between 1937 and 1950. Then follow two penetrating sections on the attitudes of store employees toward unions and of retail employers toward unions. These and the immediately subsequent chapter on retail associations for collective bargaining are the most revealing and valuable for the student of labor relations. A chapter on minor retail unions, Clothing Workers, Building Service Employees, Distributive Workers, Fur and Leather Workers, Garment Workers, Upholsterers, and the Teamsters, is brief and factual.

The concluding section, discussing the impact of unionism on stores, shows wide experience and understanding. The framework for exposition here is through the major elements in the standard retail store union-management agreement.

The price is beyond the reach of many students who would be interested in the book. For the trade and for unions interested in the trade, it will no doubt be voted well worth the cost.

MORTIMER H. GAVIN, S.J.  
I. S. O.

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**HERITAGE OF CONFLICT: Labor Relations in the Nonferrous Metals Industry up to 1930.**—By Vernon H. Jensen. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y., 1950, xiii, 495 pp. \$4.75.

Careful students of American labor often point out that many of the less admirable attitudes and practices of present unionism are rooted in and explained by their early experiences. Violent employer opposition to just demands, repression by hired spies and the armed force of militia and federal troops, court injunctions and jails—all these have left their aftermath of distrust and suspicion. Warped and tortuous growth has been the "heritage of conflict" in many industries.

Jensen's book is a case history of such beginnings in copper mining and smelting. The scene is the West from the

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Coeur d'Alenes of Northern Idaho and Butte, Montana, down through Utah, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Arizona. Conditions at Lead, South Dakota, and on the Upper Michigan Peninsula are also described. The protagonist is the Western Federation of Miners.

The story records the unhappy relations with absentee owners of copper properties and the no less difficult struggle to dissociate their activities and their policies from the rival and disrupting "Wobblies" of the IWW.

The book is well documented, the fruit of careful research; but many gaps and questions remain because of the incomplete state of the records. Jensen, who is the author of a parallel work, *Lumber and Labor* (1944), has rendered a real service in collecting this chronicle from the union, court and company records of the West and from many interviews with surviving participants of these early struggles.

It is to be hoped that he will address himself soon to the completion of the story through the last two decades. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, late of the CIO, inherited the jurisdiction and the problems of the copper industry. Built up on the remnants of the old Western Federation of Miners, they inherited also much of the old organization's disorder and division; they were expelled from the CIO last year on the score of Communist domination. Presently the Steelworkers, Philip Murray's own union, are attempting organization in those historic copper areas of the West. The record of these last two decades would very probably confirm and strengthen the thesis of the "heritage of conflict."

MORTIMER H. GAVIN, S.J.  
I.S.O.

#### CRIME ON THE LABOR FRONT.—

By Malcolm Johnson. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1950, xi, 245 pp. \$3.50.

For the first time a factual report of labor racketeering on the New York waterfront has been printed in permanent form. It will appear on library shelves. That is the significance of this book.

Unerringly Johnson gets beneath the fantastic \$200,000,000 annual rackets and spotlights the fundamental cause—the "shape-up," the system of hiring on the New York waterfront. The book is a classic case study of how labor racketeering (a rare abuse in the labor movement)

requires for its continued existence both formal and material cooperation on the part of business and political elements.

Of necessity those who make their living in the Harbor find themselves in a system in which daily decisions are often reduced to choosing the lesser of two evils. Many come to look upon the lesser evil as a good and thus rationalize and justify actions which wreak irreparable harm upon the longshoremen and their families. Of secondary importance is the fact that many of the principals are no longer capable of recognizing truth, as this reviewer can personally testify.

Joseph P. Ryan, President of the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL), is put in the embarrassing position of trying to smear as anti-labor an author who advocates the closed shop and regularization of work. In 1948, 68% of the longshoremen earned less than \$2,400 a year. That year, 46,000 men drew paychecks for longshoring when there was work for less than 18,000 men on a normal 2,000-hour annual basis.

Among others who have written extremely favorable reviews of Johnson's book are Dr. Baerwald of Fordham University, Father George Higgins of NCWC, Mrs. Elinore Herrick, formerly Director of the NLRB, Region 2, and Mr. Jack Barbash. Barbash, a former member of the ILGWU (AFL) and ACW (CIO), a former labor economist with the Department of Labor and the War Production Board, is the author of *Labor Unions in Action*. Mr. Barbash has this to say in the *New Leader*:

Johnson tells his story with pace and human interest. I read the book almost at one sitting. In fact, I have not been quite so agitated by a book since Levinson's monumental *I Break Strikes*.

The reviewer and other waterfront priests are mentioned in a chapter "Priests on the Waterfront." With those priests, however, I wonder how and when the Church and society will grapple more effectively with the whole problem of social moral corruption. Communism, a vacuum phenomenon, is only a virulent repulsive symptom of that corruption. If you want to study that problem from a scale model, read Johnson's book. The New York Harbor is the world in miniature—moving at a faster pace to a cataclysm.

JOHN M. CORRIDAN, S.J.  
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**A RECONSTRUCTION OF ECONOMICS.**—By Kenneth Boulding. Wiley & Sons, New York, 1950, xiv, 312 pp. \$4.50.

In his Preface Boulding lays down the three points of "growing dissatisfaction" which he has felt "with the present state of economic theory as generally received and taught." First, "the failure of economics to integrate itself into the general body of social science." Second, the weakness of Keynesian macroeconomics to distinguish the processes by which assets are not only circulated but also "created, destroyed, and accumulated." Third, the Keynesian failure to provide a theory of distribution on a par with that of employment whereby the distributional structure is the result of various decisions regarding investment, consumption, finance and liquidity. With due consideration for the reader, Boulding then enumerates the six out of seventeen chapters which he considers to be the key chapters in his attempt at "reconstruction."

Boulding attempts to accomplish his first task by viewing social reality as an "ecosystem" wherein many "populations" act and react so that an equilibrium size of one is a function of the sizes of all the others. Within this ecological frame the individual firms and households follow a behavior pattern of "homeostasis" or a kind of biological (as opposed to mechanical) equilibrium. The whole is then to be viewed "dynamically," not as a simple exchange equilibrium, but as one of growth through time implying reactions to disturbances, ideals and fears.

The Keynesian inadequacies Boulding attempts to provide for by the use of the balance sheet. Whatever the inadequacies of present methods of accounting, such a device is "real" as presenting a continuum within which economic choices are calculated and decisions made. And it forms a practical device by which economic homeostasis as well as reactions within an ecosystem can be studied.

Boulding's reconstruction is, as he himself states, largely a rearrangement of devices and concepts already familiar to the modern economist. But this rearrangement can have the highest significance. It brings out the "personal" element in economic activity. And economic activity is the activity of "persons," whether they be "physical persons," such as the individual man, or "moral persons," such as the firm, household, or *polis*. It is the same concrete "person" which acts either as economizer, ideologue, esthete, or one who pursues the Good Life in an

attempt to be just before God and man. Boulding's "ecosystem" and "homeostasis" offer an equilibrium concept which is applicable, not only to economics, but to all activities of the individual and social "person." And the use of the balance sheet is a concept applicable to both micro and macro analysis, both partial and aggregative, to the "person" whether the physical individual or a moral social group ranging from the household to the *polis*.

Thus Boulding's reconstruction seems to offer a worthwhile frame of inquiry; but a mathematical quantitative framework is only a device *within which* more qualitative social and economic considerations can be studied. Quantitative description of what has occurred or timeless quantitative generalizations of both observed and possible behavior are only approximations to a social science which always contains a non-quantified qualitative element which is the full object of the rational calculus in all human individual and social activity.

RICHARD L. PORTER, S.J.  
St. Louis University

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**THE 1950's COME FIRST.**—By Edwin G. Nourse. Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1951, 184 pp. \$2.00.

This popularly written, superb little book, a prelude to a later, more exhaustive presentation of his views, tells clearly the author's understanding of what American economic philosophy and policy is today—and what it should be.

As a non-partisan scientist, he writes in the "spirit of '46"—that is, as one devoted to the aims of the Employment Act of 1946 (raising and stabilizing the level of our economic life). His title derives from the recent best-seller, George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, a preview of the Big Brother State. Nourse considers that what happens in the 1950's may well be decisive for what 1984 will be.

Dedicated to the preservation of American liberty and freedom of choice, Nourse's thesis is that American individualism is building itself a Frankenstein in the form of private power groups, each of which seeks to strengthen itself with government support. He examines the historical development and current status of three of these groups—agriculture, labor and business. Professional and non-professional readers alike will be delighted with the clear, brief, yet comprehensive and specific survey of these groups' operations and policies.

Subsequent chapters consider the policy

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of security and the problems connected with it, the significance of constant inflation in an expanding economy and the effect of militarism on the economy. The book brings us right up to the end of 1950, and includes an estimate of gains and losses during that year.

Probably of greatest significance is the author's expression of his own philosophy, which proceeds *pari passu* with the teaching of Pesch and the encyclicals. Furthermore, he cites several striking public utterances agreeing therewith.

Every reader of SOCIAL ORDER can profit from this excellent book.

JOSEPH B. SCHUYLER, S.J.  
Woodstock College

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**LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION: SELECTED ESSAYS.**—By Alexander H. Pekelis. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y., 1950, xi, 272 pp. \$3.50.

The author of this collection of essays was a young and promising political refugee whose legal career was cut short by his untimely death in an airplane crash in 1946. These papers are for the most part reprinted from briefs Pekelis did for the American Jewish Congress or from his articles in the *New Republic*. Some of them consequently are already dated; few of them offer any lasting contribution to the field of jurisprudence.

Pekelis is most familiar with the question of civil liberties. His best essays are on the legal objections to racial segregation and on freedom of speech; rarely, however, does Pekelis probe into the philosophical bases for his position in this area.

The leading article from which the volume takes its name re-examines the right and duty of a judge to apply true social principles and not merely to interpret the law in a mechanical fashion. We need, Pekelis urges, a jurisprudence of welfare. While this essay shows a remarkable grasp of the literature on this topic, few new conclusions are displayed; natural-law jurisprudence receives little attention.

Pekelis is at his best probably in his long second essay on comparative law where he demonstrates a thorough knowledge of Continental *vis-a-vis* Anglo-American law.

The contents of this volume are almost necessarily of interest only to legal theorists. In this area the book offers a foretaste of a career tragically ended after scarcely five years in the United States. The book is marred by the highly ques-

tionable statement in Max Ascoli's foreword that Pekelis "had grasped all the richness of a school of thinking that stems straight from Dante" and by Milton Konvitz's introductory remark that in Pekelis we find "no priest speaking *ex cathedra* (sic!) but a great artist, a keenly sensitive and searching mind."

ROBERT F. DRINAN, S.J.  
Weston College  
Weston, Mass.

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**FAITH AND FREEDOM.**—By Wallace F. Bennett. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1950, vi, 154 pp. \$2.50.

In a tone admirably sincere, the author pleads his case in defense of freedom as found in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. To secure this freedom, he urges us to check strenuously any form of federal intervention in our lives. He emphasizes the danger of federal aid, relief payments, federal corporations and subsidization of education.

Faith is recommended as the source of light and strength which would help us to regain the freedom lost and to go beyond the glories of the past. This faith seems to be based on the wonders and superiority of the United States in all fields.

In referring to the menace of Communism, the author fails to review adequately the reasons why Americans become Communists today. He seems never to have visited American slums or to have met hard-working people in their poverty. He overlooks, or forgets, that federal aid was given generously to the railroads, banks and, by the tariff, to industry. All his efforts at defending freedom are praiseworthy, but he never conceives of the real evil of an economic serfdom in the United States today.

JOHN D. DRYDEN, S.J.  
Alma College  
Alma, California

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**FROM WEALTH TO WELFARE: The Evolution of Liberalism.**—By Harry K. Girvetz. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1950, xiii, 323 pp. \$5.00.

This is two books in one. The first is an obituary and a criticism of classical or bourgeois liberalism, that body of socioeconomic-political ideas predominant in Victorian England and post-Civil War America, and living on today, the author maintains, among such conservatives as Herbert Hoover and Friedrich Hayek. The second is an argument for "contem-

porary liberalism," which the author rightly sees as both an evolution from and a reaction to classical liberalism, and which he wrongly identifies with the Welfare State. (One may be a contemporary liberal without wanting either rugged individualism or the Welfare State.)

*From Wealth to Welfare* is not too important a book, except for its establishing a connection between the two forms of liberalism. Better analyses of classical liberalism have been made by such writers as Schapiro (*Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism*) and Ruggiero (*The History of European Liberalism*). But Professor Girvetz's book is of value for summarizing in 150 pages the arguments in favor of the Welfare State. His advocacy of such an economy, however, is based on the unproved assumption that our choice is the simple one of reverting to the *laissez-faire* state of the classical liberals or adopting the Welfare State of many contemporary liberals.

THOMAS P. NEILL  
St. Louis University

THE PURSUIT OF PLENTY.—By A. G. Mezerik. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1950, xi, 209 pp. \$2.50.

From a survey of the resources, human, natural and technical now at man's command, this book opens up a vision for raising the standards of living in America and the world. The author reviews the accomplishments of such projects as the Tennessee Valley Authority, all the while carrying on a running fight with "the prophets of doom" and "the old-fashioned men."

The latter include: "the obstructionists" in electric utilities, those who created artificial oil shortages to pressure the government into control of oil in the Middle East, the steel controllers, the Army Engineers and their "pork barrel" tactics, and the despoilers of our forests and soil. The Pick-Sloan compromise on the Missouri valley is discussed, and a strong argument is presented for the development of a regional authority similar to the TVA. The theme throughout is constructive, however, spotlighting from actual achievements the possibilities of more universally planned flood control, power development, mineralogical exploration, and agricultural research.

What is the author's great goal in "the pursuit of plenty?" Every human animal the world over should wax a little fatter and live a little longer—with fewer children. In the achievement of these ideals

all of us are beholden to the wonder of our atomic age: science is the sacred cow. Strangely, Mezerik agrees with Colin Clark that "the world's population is increasing by one per cent each year while ability to provide food is growing at the rate of 1½ per cent" (p. 11), and in general he builds up an excellent case against the pessimistic neo-Malthusians; yet the doctrine wins out . . . "birth control must be taught" (p. 156). Moreover, in the author's economic oversimplifications a certain political unrealism enters; no *via media* is even suspected between what amounts to national or international socialism and the depredations of "the old-fashioned men" so strongly decried.

Despite its obvious drawbacks this popular presentation of applied economics on a regional basis is worth reading.

RICHARD P. BURKE, S. J.  
Weston College

SOCIAL SURVEYS.—By D. Caradog Jones. Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1950, 232 pp. \$1.60.

LABOUR.—By P. Sargant Florence. Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1950, 230 pp. \$1.60.

SOCIALISM: A Short History.—By Norman Mackenzie. Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1950. 192 pp. \$1.60.

THE WORLD COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT.—By Margaret Digby. Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1950, 163 pp. \$1.60.

The well-known volumes in Hutchinson's University Library are being brought up to date and re-issued. They remain the serviceable studies they have always been: more comprehensive than is possible in an encyclopedia article, elementary and clear. It must be said, however, that the up-dating of the four under examination here is rather inadequate.

Jones' history of social surveys is a broad examination of surveys made in Great Britain, which gives some indication of modern developments in techniques, but no notice is taken of developments in other countries. Similarly, while the author has deliberately excluded from consideration opinion surveying in his own and other countries, he might have included such useful developments as income, saving and expenditure surveys and new techniques which improved communications have made possible.

The study of labor, which considers labor force, utilization, remuneration, unemployment and labor policy, has received

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considerable revision, notably, in the sections on industrial sociology and psychology, unemployment and worker training. The bibliography, except for references in the text, is hopelessly out of date.

Only two chapters of Mackenzie's *Socialism* seem to have been touched in the revision. The final chapter, "Socialism in a Divided World," is a good summary of the position of socialism (and communism) at the end of 1948. Bibliographical revision is spotty.

Revision of the work on cooperatives seems to have been completed just before publication of Barou's symposium on *The Cooperative Movement in Labour Britain* (1948), but the chapter on Britain today gives a good summary of progress. The account of other parts of the world could not be adequate.

It would be unfair, however, to end upon the note of inadequacy. Within the limits set by the Library's purpose and the inevitable restrictions upon revision, these little volumes are useful in labor-school and adult-education work, and for quick reference.

EXPLORATIONS IN ALTRUISTIC LOVE AND BEHAVIOR: A Symposium.—Edited by Pitirim A. Sorokin. Beacon Press, Boston, 1950, viii, 353 pp. \$4.00.

No Christian can be indifferent about the purpose of the authors: all seventeen authorities write to promote love among men, and love is an adequate description of God, a synonym for the Christian life and the comprehensive precept of Christian morality and asceticism. Moreover, the Christian who regards man as an intelligent and free instrument will welcome light on whatever human efforts will dispose him to receive and co-operate with God's gift of a power to love unselfishly. Again, the Christian regarding the person as socially conditioned for love or hate will be attentive to whatever social analysts demonstrate is conducive to a society of solidary and co-operative persons. Unfortunately, in the opinion of this reviewer, the Christian who is acutely aware of his inability to love unselfishly will find little guidance for his personal ascetical efforts and little more insight into the social factors of altruism from this volume of "explorations."

No man of the twentieth century, however, can afford to ignore what some of these authors write about the correlates of love: the demonstration given by Montagu that co-operation among living things

is a more primary principle of development than the evolutionary postulate of the "struggle for existence;" the insistence of Sorokin that the associative processes must be understood and put to work if we are to avoid alike what Marx "foresaw" as the outcome of class conflict and the more terrible, impending prospect he helped prepare; and Allport's emphasis on man's associative interests in opposition to Freud's twofold hypothesis of a death-instinct and the presence in all erotic love of a fearful aggression.

More specifically, all men concerned about a world in conflict should ponder what these authors write about the relation between the adult's capacity to love and his earlier experience of being loved, about the association of tolerance with democratic freedom, and the connection between an individual's altruism and his opportunity for creative expression. Also, the man who would be truly Christlike needs to be reminded that a subtle, shameful displacement of crude aggression against persons and groups can mask itself under a pharisaical show of zeal for religious truth.

But the Christian will wonder why the implications of "love in truth" are nowhere touched on except in passing by Sorokin, or why the cultural basis of community or solidarity in the common possession by men of an integral system of ultimate meanings, values and norms is hardly recognized throughout the whole volume, except again by Sorokin and very superficially by the Belgian economic historian, Dechesne. Finally, the Christian will be amazed and grieved that three chapters were devoted to the biology of love, another to the mathematics of egoism and altruism but that not a single chapter was given to an "exploration" of the teaching or experience of Christians in their dependence on the Spirit of Love.

JAMES P. GOODWIN, S.J.  
Seattle University  
Seattle, Washington

NEIGHBORS IN ACTION: A Manual for Local Leaders in Intergroup Relations.—By Rachel Davis DuBois. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1950, xiv, 294 pp. \$3.00.

This book is a practical and successful answer to a major social need in our country. As the author puts it: "Americans need to find new ways to recapture their tradition of neighborliness, ways of meeting together which will fit the needs of culturally mixed social worlds and thus

help to rebuild our disintegrated community life." Mrs. DuBois here offers "the story of a social invention" as an answer to that need. Basically the invention is a method of fostering spontaneous conversations on universally appealing topics, among culturally mixed social groups from a given neighborhood or community.

As the sub-title tells us, the book is a manual for "local leaders" who want to foster in a positive way intercultural, interracial and interreligious understanding and harmony in their own communities. The last half of the book consists of detailed instructions in the techniques, the successful use of which was narrated in the first half.

In her projects Mrs. DuBois is constantly helping people to discover their basic similarities and to feel their common kinship, but this is done with the least possible reference to the oneness of their common "childhood." Catholic local leaders can and should make the best possible use of *Neighbors in Action*; to the excellent natural methods it describes they can add the moral and religious facts which form the basic foundation for any intercultural and interracial unification.

LAWRENCE J. CROSS, S. J.  
West Baden College  
West Baden Springs, Ind.

#### SOCIETY AND ITS CRIMINALS.—

By Paul Reiwald. International Universities Press, Inc., New York, 1950, xix, 315 pp. \$4.50.

This is a book for the expert in criminology who desires to keep in contact with recent European practice. Almost all examples are taken from the Continental system of law, and the references are predominantly to German works.

In the Introduction, the author (a reader in criminology in the University of Geneva) tells us the "task, which Spinoza set himself in the fifth part of *The Ethics*," . . . is the same as the one that I have attempted for criminal law in relation to the social and asocial." (p. xviii) He concludes his final chapter, Future of Criminal Law, with these words: "Forel, the great Swiss scholar and philanthropist, answered the question concerning the future of criminal law, plainly and simply: 'in my opinion the future of criminal law lies in its abrogation, that is, in the removal of all right to punish.' That also is our answer." (p. 303)

Naturally when an author departs so

completely from the accepted ideas of criminal law it is a difficult task to evaluate his theory. What does he suggest in place of punishment? "In effect there is today an unequivocal answer to the question, . . . non-violence and self government as a means of education." (p. 295)

Through these means, August Aichhorn, a Viennese educationalist, made social beings out of the aggressive inmates of his Institution for Wayward Children, the author points out. An English colony for asocial persons did the same. But can the success of these two experiments move us to do away with our present theories of crime and punishment? It seems not. First of all, these experiments were necessarily limited to a small number of asocial individuals and did not include the more hardened criminal. They helped in the correction of the individual, the first reason for punishment, but did they provide for safeguarding society? The second reason for punishment, dictated by the common good, is perhaps as important as the first. The new theory seems to fail here. A sufficient sanction for law is not to be found, it seems to me, in "non-violence and self government as a means of education."

This might be sufficient for the juvenile delinquent, or for the first offender—and our Juvenile Courts are daily striving to do precisely this kind of work—but for the "repeater" and the old criminal, this would hardly be sufficient to deter from future crimes. Indices and chapter footnotes are complete and accurate.

JOHN C. REED, S.J.  
Weston College

#### QUAKERS AND SLAVERY IN AMERICA.—

By Thomas E. Drake. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1950, 245 pp. \$3.75.

All advocates of social Catholicism may profitably compare the struggle to implement Catholic social principles with this record of Friends' efforts to obey the Inner Light and thus reject one of the basic social institutions of their day. For George Fox and the earliest Quakers the evil of slavery was clear and its rejection imperative. Over a century and a half the tide of opinion rose and fell in the various meetings of this country. High points were those occasions on which recourse was had to the instrument of excommunication to eliminate slaveholding among members. More difficult to resolve was the further question of Friends' participation in the abolitionist movement.

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Conservative elements (chiefly the influential Philadelphia Friends) opposed radical efforts to go beyond the quiet way in dealing with a social evil. A question of doctrinal dispute or a basic divergence in self-interest? How often the same alternatives confront us in an interpretation of conflicting social attitudes among Catholics!

Drake's study is careful, at times to the point of monotony. In a few instances he seems hesitant to pursue a promising line of analysis. For readers of *SOCIAL ORDER* a comparison with Rice's *American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy* (New York, 1944), will help in evaluating the movement described by Drake. His work is instructive on the interplay of religious and social factors in the formation of attitudes. More significant is the proof it offers of the influence that a numerically small, but informed and disciplined group can exert in the field of social reform.

DONALD CAMPION, S.J.  
Woodstock College

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**I BELIEVED.**—By Douglas Hyde. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1950, 312 pp. \$3.50.

In 1948, Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen published a book with the significant title of *Communism and the Conscience of the West*. The title is significant because, as the author observes, Communism never could have threatened the world as it does today if the West had not proved false to its Christian heritage. On November 23, 1949, Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon, delivered an address, "War and Peace," before the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the U. N. Dr. Malik emphasized the same spiritual failure of the West as the principal contributing cause of Communism's phenomenal success.

In 1950, Douglas Hyde took the same theme and in his *I Believed* builds up a devastating case not only against Communism but against the forces which created "that spiritual vacuum which exists all over what once was Christendom."

*I Believed* is a fascinating autobiographical exposé of Hyde's life as one of Great Britain's best-known communists, who, after years of militancy in the party, ultimately found his way into the Catholic church. His story follows a now familiar pattern.

In his middle teens, Hyde made a fateful decision. Moved by a passionate long-

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ing for social justice, he wanted to ally himself with an organization that would satisfy his zeal by "consciously fighting for the scorned and rejected." "Why don't we do something for the unemployed? Why don't Christians do something to tackle the problem of poverty?"

He searched for answers during his study for the Methodist ministry. But he discovered his fellow Methodists with "an intensely personal religion which had little or nothing to say about social justice or a world in crisis." He widened his search, but with the same results. Bypassing Catholicism without even a nod, he joined the party under the sincere illusion that in it he had found a dynamic way to continue his "fight against injustice and misery."

Hyde's disillusionment was many years in the making. His recording of the process gives the reader an intimate insight into the intellectual headaches and psychological heartbreaks of a sincere good pagan caught up in the maze of communist intrigue and hypocrisy.

With his final emancipation from the party and his entrance into the Catholic church, the story has a happy ending. To this ending, however, Hyde attaches a sobering note: "Mind-molding in the hands of Marxist materialists becomes the most deadly thing the world has known. World changing dare not be left in their hands."

*I Believed* will reward its readers with intensely interesting, vastly important information about the world menace of Communism.

LOUIS J. TWOMEY, S.J.  
Loyola University  
New Orleans, La.

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**A HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS.**—Edited by Vergilius Ferm. New York, The Philosophical Library, 1950, xvi, 642 pp. \$6.00.

This work is a series of 47 essays written by 41 different authors and deals with philosophical systems, ancient and modern, Eastern and Western. The treatment is broad rather than profound; but a selective bibliography appended to each essay points the way to further study. For the most part, the topics are handled competently and clearly. The Catholic reviewer must, however, make exceptions to the point of view expressed in the essay on Early Christian Philosophy.

JOHN H. WRIGHT, S.J.  
Alma College



# LETTERS

## Foreign Reporting

In regard to Benson's letter on the amount of foreign coverage (*SOCIAL ORDER*, March, p. 144), I thought you would be interested in knowing that there are others who think that Lauer's article on co-determination was not mere reporting, as is evident from Lauer's conclusions. Moreover, it is necessary that such articles be full of facts. We can only analyze and criticize when we have facts.

I would also call your attention to the need of observing what is happening in Europe so that we may profit from success and mistakes. Clinton Golden says that labor in the U.S. is unwilling to accept co-determination now because it involves co-responsibility but that "they will watch the German experiment with keen interest."

(REV.) ROBERT G. LISKA, S.J.  
Georgetown University

Though I differ with Mr. Benson (of the "flat-headed and shallow" letter) about foreign articles, I think he has a point in demanding analysis and criticism, not just reports. That was my objection to the Profit-Sharing article in the January issue. You do not realize that, whereas you people probably see where these various schemes line up with social reform, we often do not. We don't want a blunt "right" or "wrong," but some critical analysis.

SISTER MARY PATRICIA  
St. Louis, Mo.

Benson had a point. European solutions to European problems are of little use to us, unless a reasonable amount of adaptation is done; and that can best be done by a well-informed author who is able to do the initial reporting.

C. P. VINCENT  
St. Louis, Mo.

Have you three copies of the January, 1951, issue you can send me? I have some worried people to whom I wish to give a copy of Lauer's article. There is a tremendous interest here in the development of co-management in Germany.

I do hope that the success has crowned

*SOCIAL ORDER* which its well-wishers believe it should have.

BROTHER JUSTIN, F.S.C.  
Manhattan College  
New York, N. Y.

## Guides for Social Reform

The article by Philip S. Land, S.J., ["Guides for Social Reform," March, 1951, pp. 100-06] is reassuring. It makes clear that the social developments he envisages will not involve rigidity of either social structures or regulation of the economy. I think your author would agree heartily with the following observation of an outstanding economist: "Competition is needed, and so is cooperation. We need an economic society in which both these forms of organization play their legitimate roles. . . . It is not competition and cooperation which must be assured in sectors of society which are functionally related, and whose joint services are vital to society. It is the simultaneous presence of divergent interests and common interests, of conflict and mutuality." (Neil Chamberlain, *Collective Bargaining*, pp. 478 and 481.) And if he does, I agree with him.

MYRON WEINREICH  
New York City

## From the Antipodes

Each issue of *SOCIAL ORDER* has something of great value for us here in Australia. I find them most interesting, and so do all those here interested in social work and economics. We were delighted to see Professor Maher's article on the social documents of our Australian hierarchy [March, 1951, pp. 115-22]. The series you are publishing [on the social thought of various national hierarchies] should gather together a rich compendium of social doctrine.

(REV.) P. J. STEPHENSON, S.J.  
Xavier College  
Kew, Victoria, Australia

**Acknowledgements:** p. 204: "L'Entreprise Privée devant les Tendances Socialistes Modernes," *Rélations*, 6 (1946) 39; p. 210: *Man and the State*, Chicago University, 1951, p. 60; p. 223: "Economic Means—To What Ends?" *American Economic Review*, 40 (1950) Suppl., 49.

**SOCIAL ORDER**



# Worth Reading

Most Rev. Francis J. Haas, "Authority," *Catholic Mind*, 42 (April, 1951) 230-38.

In his advent pastoral of last year the bishop of Grand Rapids, Mich., discusses the nature, origin and exercise of authority: in the church, in the family, in the state, in industry.

Franz H. Mueller, "Christian Solidarism and Labor," *Social Justice Review*, 44 (April, 1951) 3-6.

Professor Mueller, who contributed an article on Pesch to the April, 1951, issue of *SOCIAL ORDER*, discusses here the significant place of work in the social philosophy of that scholar.

Benjamin L. Masse, "From the Great Lakes to the Sea," *America*, 85 (April 7, 1951) 11-14.

Reviews the 40-year-old controversy about a deep-channel canal to unite the Great Lakes with the Atlantic ocean and expresses hope for an early favorable termination.

John C. Cort, "Wages and Big-Family Men," *Commonweal*, 53 (March 30, 1951) 614-16.

A short article which indicates the universal need for a system of family allowances.

Josef Solterer, "Quadragesimo Anno: Schumpeter's Alternative to the Omnipotent State," *Review of Social Economy*, 9 (March, 1951) 12-23.

Instead of governmental action to stabilize the economy, Professor Solterer proposes action by individual enterprises and industry groups in which all members of

an enterprise have some participation. Such participation is a natural exigency of man's creative nature, and the economy will benefit from any participation which fosters realization of community.

Murray Ballantyne, "The Temper of U.S. Policy," *Commonweal*, 53 (March 16, 1951) 559-61.

A magnanimously formulated comment upon America's current efforts at leadership in the international crisis.

Richards C. Osborn, "Efficiency and Profitability in Relation to Size," *Harvard Business Review*, 29 (March, 1951) 82-94.

Suggests that data concerning relative efficiency of large, medium-sized and small firms are inconclusive. Large firms tend to have steadier, but not the highest, rates of profitability. Discourages attempts to change structures in the present crisis.

Ralph J. Bunche, "Equal Justice—Under Law," *The Survey*, 87 (March, 1951) 115-18.

The substance of Dr. Bunche's address at a dinner honoring him given by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Anna A. Ayars, "The Sovietization of Poland's Judiciary System," *Catholic World*, 173 (April, 1951) 22-27.

Examines the changes which are making Poland "in its internal structure, one of the Soviet republics, governed by laws prepared in Moscow."

## What they say about

### SOCIAL ORDER

"... the reader is referred to an authentic article on the topic in the February issue of SOCIAL ORDER, by Spain's outstanding social apostle, the Rev. Joachin Azpiazu, S.J., of Madrid."

*America*, February 24, 1951.

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Ray Gibbons, director, Council for  
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Christian Churches.

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Social Action Department, N.C.W.C.

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